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ABSTRACT

This collection contains five papers on discourse in a variety of languages. "A Stratificational Perspective on the Discourse Structure of Limos Kalinga" by Hartmut Wiens demonstrates the value of the stratificational model in looking at language in relatively small portions at various levels while also showing how its structural aspects at those levels can be integrated. "An Analysis of Polysemy in Kapampangan and Japanese, Using the Systems Correspondence Theory" by Anicia del Corro analyzes polysemy in a Philippine language and Japanese according to a theory stating that man uses existing systems in his world to identify, label, and comprehend the world. In "Some Functions of Direct Quotes in Tagabawa Narrative Discourse," by Sherri Brainard and Lauretta DuBois, four functions are found for this structure. "The Functions of 'hay' in Aklanon Narrative Discourse" by Sherri Brainard and Poul Jensen discusses the kinds of grammatical constructions in which this particle occur, where it is found in a text, what information is contained in it, and what functions such constructions perform. The final paper, "Sentence Types in Eastern Kadazan" by Hope M. Hurlbut, provides a description of the grammatical sentence in this Dusunic language using the tagmemic model. (MSE)

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A Stratificational Perspective on the Discourse Structure of Limos Kalinga

Hartmut Wiens

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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Abbreviations and symbols

ACT	ACTIVITY
adj	adjective
AdjW	Adjective Word
Adv	Adverb
AF	ACTOR FOCUS
Af1F	PRIMARY affected focus affix (direct object or goal)
Af2F	SECONDARILY affected focus affix (indirect object or referent)
AG	AGENT
att	attribute
attr	attribution
AUD	AUDIENCE
C	CENTRAL
Cl.C	CENTRAL position (C) or nucleus of the clause (Cl)
Cl.F1	FIRST position following (F) the nucleus of the clause (Cl)
Cl.F2	SECOND position following (F) the nucleus of the clause (Cl)
CL.P	position PRECEDING (P) the clause (Cl)
CMP	COMPLETIVE

COG	COGNITION
COM	COMMENT
COMM	COMMUNICATOR
cond	condition
conj	conjunction
conv	conversation
COORD	COORDINATION
CS	Communication Situation (superscript)
DIR	DIRECTION
Disc	Discourse
EXP	EXPERIENCE
EXPR	EXPERIENCER
EXPRS	EXPRESSION
Ev	Event
f	friend (in chart 3 only)
F	any position following the nucleus of a construction; a following numeral signifies the number of positions removed
FREQ	FREQUENCY
GEN	GENERAL
GF	Goal Focus
GL	GOAL
IF	Instrument Focus
INC	INCOMPLETE
IndQuote	Indirect Quote
INS	INSTRUMENT
ITR	ITERATIVE (chart 3)
J	Juan (in chart 3 only)
KIN	Kinship
Kin.REF	Kinship Reference
LA	Logical Arrangement
LK	LINK
LOC	LOCATION
M	Morphemic Stratum (superscript)
morph	morpheme
n	any number of times (superscript)
n	noun
NEG	NEGATION
NM	Noun Marking Particle

NP	Noun Phrase
OBJ	Object
OBL	OBLIQUE, not focused
P	any position preceding the nucleus of a construction; a following numeral signifies the number of positions removed
P	Pedro (in chart 3, column 4 from right)
PERS	Person Marker
PF	Primary Focus
PHEN	PHENOMENON
pl	plural
PossnPhr	Possession Phrase (Fig. 1)
PredFocus	Predication Focus
PrepPhr	Prepositional Phrase (Fig. 1)
prn	pronoun
PROC	PROCESSOR
PROP	PROPOSITION
psych	psychological process
purp	purpose
QUO	QUOTATION
REA	REACTOR
REC	RECIPROCAL
REL	Relational Particle, marking temporal or logical arrangements
RelProx	Relative Proximity
ref	reflexive (chart 3)
RF	Referential Focus
s	sheep (in chart 3 only)
S	Semantic Stratum (superscript)
SEQ	SEQUENTIAL
SOC.REF	Social Reflexive
sp	specifier
SPAT LOC	SPATIAL LOCATION
ST	STEM
STIM	STIMULUS
T	TOPIC
TA	Temporal Arrangement
TempLoc	Temporal Location
VOC	VOCATIVE
VP	Verb Phrase

VW	Verb Word
—	signifies one of three types of zero marking
\	shows realization relationships from a lower to a higher stratum
/	shows realization relationships from a higher to a lower stratum
¦¦	environment in which a realization occurs
:	filled by
——	horizontal line above a word or abbreviation signifies 'not'
'	glottal stop in vernacular words
.	compound gloss in vernacular text; in formulas to tie two parts of a formula together
,	semantic/grammatical components
=	morpheme boundary
-	syllable break between *ng*; before the word rank indicates minus rank or the lower ranking of two people involved in a kinship or social relationship
...	incomplete sentence
[ ]	inclusive
{ }	select one alternative
ø	zero allomorph
#	zero reference in vernacular
( )	zero reference in gloss

0. Introduction

The theoretical model that underlies this description of Limos Kalinga[1] discourse structure is a stratified communication model developed by Ilah Fleming (1977). This model reflects Sydney Lamb's (1966) basic division of language into multiple strata. Each stratum is characterized by two kinds of relationships: 'Tactic' relationships are the relationships that obtain between different elements on the same stratum; 'realization' relationships specify the relationships between elements of one stratum to elements on another stratum.

Stratificational theory proposes the recognition or distinction within language of multiple strata, varying in number from two to six depending on the individual linguist and the stage in the development of the theoretical model being followed. Such stratification proves useful in the analysis of language

[1] The present study is based on data from the subdialect of Kalinga spoken by people living in and around the village of Limos. It is known by its speakers as Linimos. It is also referred to as Limos Kalinga and is just one of a number of dialects of Kalinga. It is spoken by eight to ten thousand people living in about ten communities (barrios) along the lower Saltan river valley in the municipality of Pinukpuk. The author of this study spent five years living with his family in the village of Asibanglan, where all inhabitants are speakers of Linimos.

Kalinga is an Austronesian language. Thomas and Gieser (1972:66), building on classifications proposed by other linguists and based on independent dialect survey work conducted under the auspices of SIL, developed a decimal classification of Philippine languages in which they place Kalinga under the Central Cordilleran group of languages along with Ilocano, Itneg, Bontoc, Kankanay, Ifugao, Inibaloi, and Isinai. There are an estimated seventy to eighty thousand speakers of Kalinga living in the Kalinga subprovince of Kalinga-Apayao in the northern part of the island of Luzon.

The narrator of the story that was analyzed for this study is Mr. Louis Balutoc, a native speaker of Linimos. The story was published in a collection of short stories called *Allalim un Mambalikas* 'Stories That Speak'.

in small chunks while at the same time providing for the integration of these chunks into one complex whole.

According to stratificational theory the primary function of language is communication. It is also recognized that language is only a part of communication. The importance of the communication situation (context) for linguistic analysis is well established in the history of linguistics as shown by Mildred Larson (1977:9-13).

Henry Gleason, one of the leaders in the development of stratificational theory, has pointed out the importance of context or experience, as he calls it, in determining the structures observed in language. He defines language as that aspect of communication which is bounded by sound at one end and 'experience' at the other (Gleason 1964:1). While emphasizing the autonomy of language within the boundaries of sound and experience, he recognizes also that "the whole complex organization seems to be determined (in broad outline) by the external phenomena contacted through these interfaces" (ibid.).

Ilah Fleming is the first to develop the idea of the communication situation and integrate it into stratificational theory. In her stratified communication model she recognizes the importance of context, that is, the communication situation, to the organization of language, integrating it into the theory by assigning it a separate stratal status along with semantics, morphemics (grammar), the expression level (which includes the phonemic, graphemic, kinesic, and gestemic strata), and finally physical phenomena. Figure 1 (from Fleming 1977) represents the static communication model and shows some of the content of the various strata.

Making the communication situation a stratum in the communication model allows the analyst to show how the communication situation affects and to a large degree actually determines the structure of the text. It can be shown, for example, how a certain construction on the semological stratum is chosen to convey the intent of the communicator, or how the choice of a construction on a lower-level stratum is influenced by the need to consider the attitude of the audience in the communication situation.

The data upon which my study is based is taken primarily from a Kalinga text about two brothers. It is a story that Kalingas tell to teach the value of kinship relations. The complete text with an interlinear and a free translation is given in the Appendix. My purpose in analyzing the text was to see what could be discovered about participant identification and the arrangement of propositions in Limos Kalinga discourse.

The basic analytical technique was the use of different kinds of charts to attempt to highlight structural features of the morphemic, semantic, and communication situation strata. In both the section on participant identification and the section on propositional arrangement three different kinds of charts were used. In each case the text was charted first according to morphological data, then according to semantic data organized on the basis of morphological criteria, and finally data from the communication situation were charted, organized on the basis of semantic and morphological criteria. At each stage, observations were made on the structure of the text and conclusions drawn or hypotheses formulated about the nature of Kalinga discourse. These observations, conclusions, and hypotheses are reported here. How the structural features of the different strata are related to one another is shown by realization relationships. (Sometimes it was found that the initial charting of a text needed to be revised on the basis of certain structural features that may not have been taken into consideration at first.)

1. Participant identification

In this study only two charts are constructed for the analysis of participant identification. The first is the morphemic trace and the second is a summary chart combining aspects of the semantic and the communication situation trace.

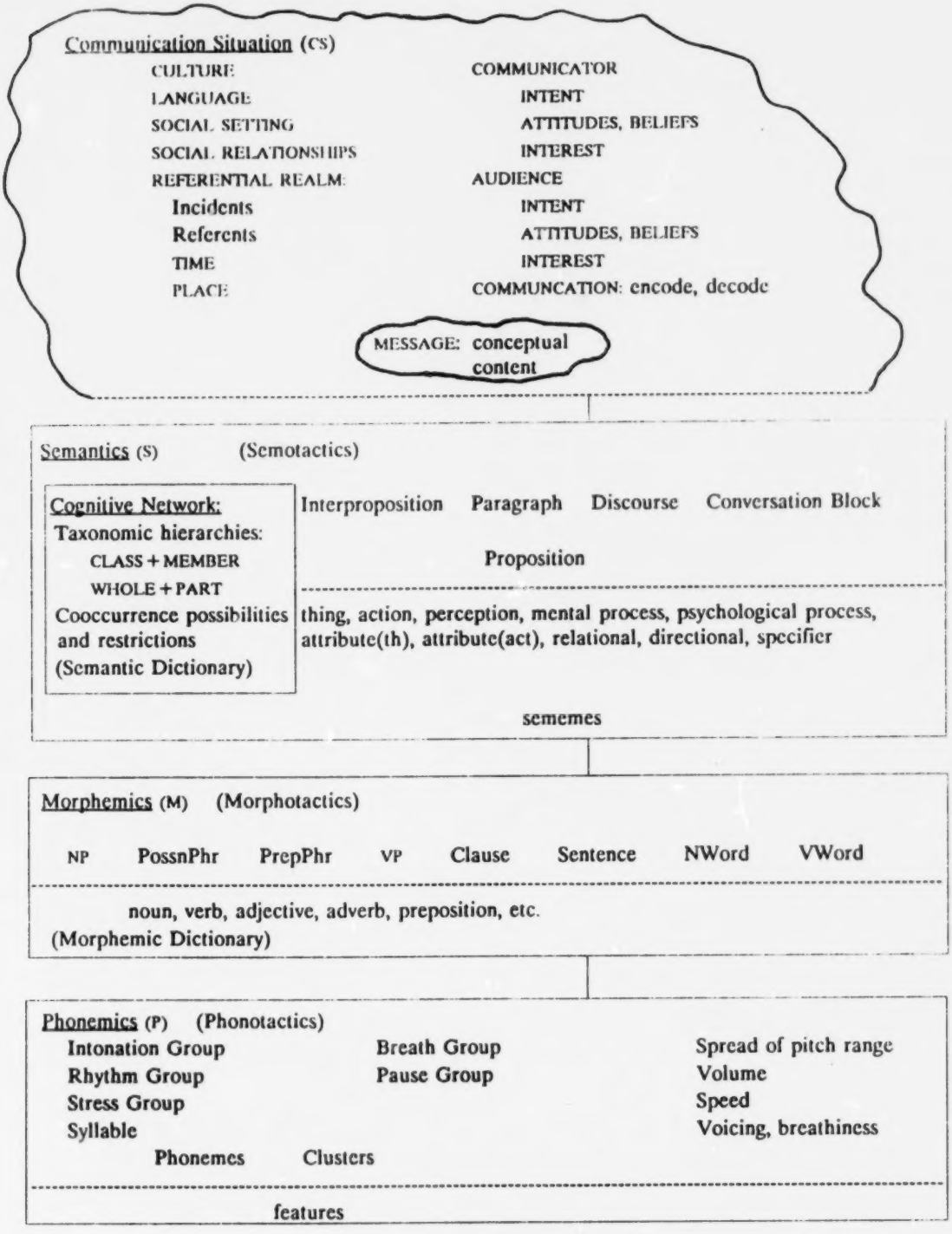

Fig. 1. A static communication model.

1.1 Morphemic trace

The morphemic trace (see chart 1) consists of separate columns for each of the referents in the text. In each column are listed the various ways the referent is realized on the morphemic stratum along with the function of the referent in each of its occurrences. In the first column to the left are listed the events of the story in which each of the realizations occurs, while in the last column to the right additional constituents such as spatial and temporal location are shown. The interstratal relationships illustrated in this trace primarily involve realization relationships from the communication situation to the morphemic stratum. These will be discussed here, and then summary formulae will be presented at the end of this section.

In Limos Kalinga discourse, reference to participants can be made by either nouns, pronouns, or zero. In general, it appears that a referent must be introduced in the text by a noun; subsequent reference is usually by the use of pronouns. In the text under consideration here, all referents (except the audience, which is addressed in the concluding paragraph) were referred to in their initial occurrence by nouns. In addition, nouns may be used to establish the topic or theme of a paragraph or longer section. Nouns are also used to reestablish reference to a participant following intervening reference to another participant in the same role function.

These general observations about the use of nouns and pronouns in Kalinga are subject to modification on the basis of potential for ambiguity or other factors from the semantic stratum. These will be discussed more fully in section 1.2.

The occurrence of zero reference is morphologically determined. There are two kinds of zero reference. One type is the zero realization of the third person singular pronoun belonging to one of the focused sets of pronouns (set 1, 3, or 5). These are indicated in the trace by the symbol ∅. They are not considered to be instances of zero realization in the morphemics but rather the realization of a particular pronoun form which has zero realization in the phonemic stratum and contrasts with other pronoun forms in the morphemics.

When a referent is present in the semantics but is not overtly realized on the morphemic stratum, a # is used. This occurs in several different kinds of constructions. One in which it is found in the text of the Appendix is in the second of two coordinate clauses with identical subjects, for example, in the second sentence, given here as example 1. (Note that the number to the right of all examples is the sentence number of the text.)

(1) *Adi da mangkakkakan kan manlollonok # si boloy.* 2
not they PF,eat.together,REC,INC conj enter,REC,INC (they) NM house

This type of zero realization of participant reference also occurs in cases of logical arrangement on the semantic stratum (^{S}Logical Arrangement) introduced by the morpheme *un*. An example is found in sentence 4 of the text:

(2) *Kanayuna man'abaabat da un umoy # man'ay'ayaw ...* 4
always PF,meet,INC they in.order.to go,INC (they) visit,INC

Finally, this type of zero reference is found in constructions with verbs marked for nonprimary focus using pronoun set 3 in the second position following the clause nucleus (Cl.F2) and whose primary function participant[2] is third person singular. In this type of construction the primary function participant is usually not realized in the morphemic stratum. The following is an example:

---

[2] I distinguish here between primary function participants and nonprimary function participants. Primary functions include: AGENTS, SPEAKERS, EXPERIENCERS, PROCESSORS, REACTORS, OWNERS and the +rank (ego) participants in KIN and SOCIAL RELATION.

(3) *Ulay laweng nat sunud nu, taguwon dika # nu nasigab ...* 26
even bad NM brother your save,INC you (by.him) if difficult

Some other instances that had at first appeared to be zero reference were found to coincide with the occurrence of the verb 'go' in conjunction with another verb. In each case the reference to the participant was found to occur with 'go' while there was no reference to the participant on the following verb. This is exactly the pattern that is found in verb phrases with the negative particle or the adverb 'then'. On the basis of this pattern the occurrences of 'go' followed by another verb with only a single realization of the reference to the participant were viewed as verb phrases. When the clause nucleus (Cl.C) is filled by a verb phrase, the reference to the primary function participant is drawn out of its normal position in the clause and into the verb phrase. The vacant place that is left in the position that would normally be filled by this participant is indicated by — in the morphotactic trace (see chart 3).

The general observations about participant reference on the morphemic stratum are summarized in the following formulae (in which a slash symbolizes the relationship 'is realized by', a double bar shows the environment in which the various realizations occur, and a horizontal line above a term means 'not'):

^{CS}Referent

1. ¦¦ (a) Initial occurrence.
(b) Paragraph or section topic.
(c) Reestablishing reference after intervening reference in the same role function.
/ ^{M}noun

2. ¦¦ (a) Second clause of coordinate clause with identical subject.
(b) Purpose clause following *un*.
(c) 3rd singular primary function participant following $\overline{\text{primary}}$ focus + pronoun set 3
/ ^{M}zero

3. ¦¦ Elsewhere, provided there is no ^{M}pronoun ambiguity.

The first of these formulae would be read as follows: A referent in the communication situation (^{CS}Referent) is realized by a noun on the morphemic stratum (^{M}noun) in its initial occurrence, when it is the paragraph or section topic, or when reestablishing reference after intervening reference in the same role function.

The previous discussion concerns the majority of instances of participant identification in Kalinga narrative discourse in which the referent is third-person not-communicator and not-audience ($\overline{\text{COMM}}$, $\overline{\text{AUD}}$). In addition to these, this text contains several instances of participant reference in which the participant is referred to as either COMMUNICATOR or AUDIENCE within a Conversation Block. All references to participants as COMMUNICATOR use pronouns. References to participants as AUDIENCE use either nouns (vocative) or pronouns.

1.2 Summary of semantics and the communication situation

In chart 2 I have summarized the information that I found most revealing for the analysis of participant identification from the semantics and the communication situation. Down the left side of the chart I have listed the semantic and communication situation (CS) functions used; across the top are the referents being compared with regard to these functions. (Several other referents found in the text are not given in the chart because their mention was either infrequent or insignificant to the present analysis.)

In relation to semantics I have found it useful to distinguish between participants and props. Participants may occur in primary function roles in event propositions (e.g., AGENT, SPEAKER); props never occur in such roles.

Another helpful distinction can be made among participants between major and minor participants. Major participants are distinguished from minor, at least in the present text, by the fact that the major participants are introduced first and are named, in contrast to the minor participant who is never named. The manner of introduction in the narrative may also be important in distinguishing them in that the major participants are introduced in a topic noun phrase, while the minor participant is brought on with an existential.

Among the two major participants one stands out as being the central major participant by his depiction as higher ranking, both in his kin relationship to his brother and in his social relationship to his friend. In each case he is represented as the ego in respect to whom these relationships are specified. He also outranks the other two in the amount of background information given about him.

Such distinctions between central-major, major, and minor participants result in a ranking of the participants in order from one to three. Juan would receive first rank as the central-major participant, Pedro second rank as the other major participant, and the friend would be third as the minor participant. This relative ranking of the participants is given additional statistical weight from the semantic trace by the fact that Juan is cast in a primary role much more frequently (61 times) than Pedro (24 times) or the friend (12 times). Juan is also made the topic of the sentence (Cl.F2) more often (29 times) than Pedro (8 times) or the friend (6 times). Juan is mentioned by name 6 times, Pedro 3 times, and the friend never. Finally Juan and Pedro are cast in the function of paragraph or section topic (Cl.P) in their initial introduction, and then Juan is given this function alone a little later.

On the basis of the relative rank of the participants as outlined above and the ways in which they are referred to in the text, it would be possible to assign values to the means of referring to participants. Reference by naming would have a value of +2. Reference by pronoun would have a value of +1. Reference by a common noun or noun phrase on the morphemic stratum signaling such semantic information as identification and relationships on the semantic stratum would have a value of -1. Using these values, Juan, who is referred to by naming and pronouns, would receive a rank of +3; Pedro, who is referred to by all three means, would receive a rank of +2; and the friend, whose reference by pronoun would be cancelled out by his reference by a common noun phrase, would receive a rank of zero.

If the values assigned to the different means of referring to participants accurately reflect at least some of what is going on in the semantics of participant reference in Kalinga discourse, they might explain the use of noun phrases in referring to participants at certain points in the text where, according to the general principles stated in section 1.1, we might have expected pronouns. The noun phrase might be seen as a means of emphasizing the lower rank of the participants so referred to in contrast to a higher-ranking participant mentioned in the same context. For example, in sentences 11 and 12 of the text in the Appendix the friend is referred to twice in succession by a noun phrase with no intervening reference to another participant in the same role function. The same is true for Pedro in sentences 17 and 18.

These observations about the ranking of the referents are summarized in the following CS/S realization relationships, showing how the communication situation (CS) is realized on the semantic stratum (S):

^{CS}PARTICIPANT / ^{S}PRIMARY FUNCTION in ^{S}Events

^{CS}PROPS / $^{S}\overline{\text{PRIMARY}}$ FUNCTION in ^{S}Events

^{CS}PARTICIPANT RANKING ¦¦ major participants

/ ^{S} { Naming / Section.TOPIC }

^{CS}PARTICIPANT RANKING ¦¦ central major participant

/ ^{S}+ RANK in ^{S}Kin.REF and ^{S}SOC.REF

^{CS}PARTICIPANT RANKING ¦¦ minor participant

/ ^{S}Existential

2. Propositional arrangement

The ways in which the propositions of the text in the Appendix are arranged were investigated for the morphemic, semantic, and communication situation strata. This involved the construction of a morphotactic trace of the text, a semotactic trace, and a referential plot trace (charts 3, 4, and 5, respectively).

2.1 Morphotactic trace

On the morphemic stratum the minimum element is the morpheme, which occurs in morphemic distribution classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, and conjunctions. Morphemes combine into morphotactic constructions such as words, phrases, and clauses. Morphotactic constituents involve a member of a distribution class (or construction in cases of embedding) plus its relative sequential position with respect to the other constituents of the construction.

The morphotactic trace of a text is a chain of morphemic constructions and/or single morphemes. The most frequently occurring element in the chain of the Kalinga text under study here is the clause construction. In chart 3, the clauses are charted in the five columns to the far right. To the left of these five columns are the noun phrases, noun words, and adjective words that occur in the chain but are not part of the clause constructions; they are charted according to the seven positions of the noun phrase. The column immediately to the left of the noun phrases shows the case-marking particles, which are attached to elements of the NP. The first column in chart 3, the one on the far left, lists the single morphemes in the chain that function to connect propositions. These morphemes precede the clauses that they connect except for the particle *man*, which is a postposed particle occurring immediately after the primary function participant in the clause.

Before discussing the constructions in chart 3, I will give an example of a chain taken from the text. The first part of the text would be represented by the following morphemic chain (in which P = precedes; C = central; F = follows; and numbers are added to show relative distance from C):

Case = *sa-*
NP = P4: [pl = *da*] = C: [noun coord = *Juan kan Pedro*]
Cl = C: [VW = *mansunud*] + F2: [prn = *da*]
morph = *yoong*
Cl = C: [VP = *adi da matakung*]
morph = *ta*
Cl = C: [VW = *manggulagula*] + F2: [prn = *da*]
Cl = C: [VP = *adi da mangkakkakan*]
morph = *kan*
Cl = C: [VW = *manlollonok*] + F3: [1. Case = *si* + 2. NP = C: *boloy*]

The charting of the chain-level constructions and morphemes in the morphotactic trace yields the following formula for the MClause:

$$^{M}\text{Clause} = \text{P: } \left\{ 1.\ \left[\begin{matrix} si \\ ut \end{matrix} \right]\ 2.\ \text{NP} \right\} \text{C: } \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{VW} \\ \text{VP} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{F1: } \left\{ \begin{matrix} 1.\ \text{Case: -N + 2. NP} \\ \text{prn2} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{F2: } \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{prn1,3,4} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

$$\text{F3}^{n}\text{: } \left\{ \begin{matrix} 1.\ \text{Case: } \left[\begin{matrix} kan \\ si \end{matrix} \right] \\ \text{prn5} \end{matrix} \right.\ \left. 2.\ \text{NP} \right\}$$

In this text only one clause was found in which all three of the F positions were filled. It is from sentence 20:

(4) ^{M}Cl = C: VW = *innilnok* + F1: prn2 = *na* 20
bring.in,CMP he
+ F2: prn4 = *ø* + F3: [1. Case = *ut* 2. NP = *dit boloy*]
him PF,focus NM house

The following are the M\S realization relationships for the clause on the morphemic stratum (^{M}Cl) and the various positions in the construction.

$$^{M}\text{Cl} \setminus ^{S} \left[\begin{matrix} \text{EV ACTIVITY} \\ \text{EV EXPERIENCE} \\ \text{EV COGNITION} \\ \text{EV PSYCHOLOGICAL} \\ \text{EV CONVERSATION} \\ \text{Kinship} \\ \text{PHASE} \\ \text{Existential} \end{matrix} \right]$$

The following are examples of some of these semantic constructions stated in terms of S/M realization relationships. (The number to the right of an example refers to the sentence of the text where it occurs.)

(5) ^{S}Kinship / ^{M}Cl = C: VW=*mansunud* + F2: prn1=*da* 1
rel.as.sib they

(6) ^{S}EV ACTIVITY / ^{M}Cl = C: VW = *manggulagula* + F2: prn1 = *da* 1
PF,always.fight,INC they

(7) ^{S}Existential / ^{M}Cl = C: *inggaw* + F2: NP = *gayyom na* 3
exist friend his

The M\S realization relationship for the first postnuclear position of the clause (^{M}Cl.F1) is as follows:

^{M}Cl.F1 \ $^{S}\overline{\text{FOCUS}}$ + { AGENT | EXPERIENCER | SPEAKER | PROCESSOR | REACTOR (etc.) }

The following is an S/M formula for ^{S}AGENT along with an example from the text. In the example the ^{S}AGENT is bolded.

^{S}AGENT ¦¦ $\overline{\text{FOCUS}}$ / ^{M}Cl.F1

(8) C: VW = *pinakana-* + F2: prn2 *-na* + F2: prn3 *-Ø* 22
feed,CMP,Af1F he him

The M\S realization relationship for the second postnuclear position of the clause (^{M}Cl.F2) is as follows:

^{M}Cl.F2 \ ^{S}FOCUS + { AGENT | EXPERIENCER | SPEAKER | PROCESSOR | INSTRUMENT | RECIPIENT | GOAL (etc.) }

The following is an S/M formula for ^{S}GOAL along with an example from the text.

^{S}GOAL ¦¦ FOCUS / ^{M}Cl.F2

(9) C: VW = *dinokmaa-* + F1: prn2 *-na* + F2: NP = *dit iman Juan.* 19
grab,CMP,Af1F he the hand.of Juan

The M\S realization relationship for the third postnuclear position of the clause (^{M}Cl.F3) is as follows:

^{M}Cl.F3 \ $^{S}\overline{\text{FOCUS}}$ + { LOCATION | GOAL (etc.) }

The following is an S/M formula for ^{S}GOAL along with an example from the text.

^{S}GOAL ¦¦ $\overline{\text{FOCUS}}$ / ^{M}Cl.F3

(10) C: VW = *Nangwa* + F2: prn1 = *Ø* + F3: NP = *si sikap* 8
PF,make,CMP he NM plan

The M\S realization relationship for the prenuclear position of the clause (^{M}Cl.P) is as follows:

$$^{M}\text{Cl.P} \setminus {}^{S}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{TEMP LOC}\\ \text{FREQUENCY}\\ \text{REL PROX (etc.)}\end{array}\right\}$$

The position of ^{M}Cl.P is difficult to characterize from the data in this text since there are only two clauses in which this slot is filled, neither of which really expresses temporal location. Of the two occurrences of the ^{M}Cl.P position in this text one is filled by the morpheme *kanayun* 'always' $\setminus^{S}$FREQ and one by *dagus* 'immediately' $\setminus^{S}$REL PROX.

The last clause position to be discussed here is the nucleus (^{M}Cl.C). This is the nuclear position in the clause. The following M\S formula shows some of the semantic functions expressed by the Cl.C in this text.

$$^{M}\text{Cl.C} \setminus {}^{S}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ACTIVITY}\\ \text{EXPERIENCE}\\ \text{COGNITION}\\ \text{REACTION}\\ \text{EXPRESSION}\end{array}\right\}$$

The following is an S/M formula for ^{S}COGNITION along with an example from the text.

^{S}COGNITION / ^{M}Cl.C

(11) C: VP = *Mansomsomok* *man* + F2: NP = *si* *Juan* 6
PF,think,INC, TA,SEQ person,AF Juan

The ^{M}Cl.C can be filled by verb phrases (VP) as well as verb words (VW). The ^{M}VP is not reflected in the charting of the morphotactic trace and has not been fully analyzed. The following is a tentative formula for the ^{M}VP based on data from this text.

$$^{M}\text{VP} = \text{P4:}\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\textit{adi} & \text{not}\\ \textit{umoy/i-} & \text{go}\\ \textit{asi} & \text{then}\\ \textit{maabus} & \text{finish}\end{array}\right\}\ \text{P3:}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{prn1,2}\\ \text{NP}\end{array}\right\}\ \text{P2: prn4}$$

$$\text{P1: morpheme}\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\textit{kanu} & \text{hearsay}\\ \textit{kampay} & \text{certainly (etc.)}\end{array}\right\}\ \text{C: VW}$$

The following is an example of a VP:

(12) VP = P4: *i-* + P3: prn2: *-na* + P1: *kampay* + C: *itdan* 5
go he certainly give,INC

In Kalinga, as in most Philippine languages, there is considerable inflectional complexity in the ^{M}Cl.C. A number of different kinds of reduplication can occur on the stem as well as the affixes of the ^{M}VW. Although reduplication is not analyzed in any detail in this study, some of its semantic functions as observed in this text were continuative, iterative, and reciprocal. The following VP is an example that shows the kind of reduplication that is typical in Kalinga.

(13) *Adi da mang- -kakka- -kan* 2
not they PF REC(C1V1C1C1V1 redupl) eat(stem)

The other type of complexity in the MCl.C of Philippine languages is the focus affixation on the verb. I have previously described some of the semantics involved in these focus affixes, see Wiens 1979. The focus affixes can be subdivided into two basic types: those that focus on the primary function participant (AGENT, EXPERIENCER, etc.) and those that focus on the nonprimary participants. This latter type can be further subdivided into four types: those that focus on the most directly or totally affected participant; those that focus on the less directly or totally affected participant; those that focus on the conveyed participant; and those that focus on the beneficiary (the one for whom something is done). The affixes that focus the primary function participants have been variously designated in Philippine languages as Subject Focus, Actor Focus, or Agent Focus affixes. I refer to them as Primary Focus (PF). The affixes most frequently referred to as Direct Object Focus or Goal Focus, I call Primary Affected Focus (Af1F). The ones that have been called Indirect Object or Referent Focus, I call Secondarily Affected Focus (Af2F). The set of affixes often referred to as Instrument Focus or Accessory Focus, I call Conveyance Focus (CF). For the fourth set of affixes, the ones that focus on the beneficiary, I retain the designation Beneficiary Focus.

For a complete listing of these affix sets along with a more detailed discussion of their semantic function, see Wiens 1979. Although that study was not presented in terms of the theoretical model being used here, I believe that my observations there could easily be integrated into a description using this model in terms of the CSPERSPECTIVE OF THE COMMUNICATOR. For example, a CS/M realization formula for the Af1F might be something like the following:

CSPERSPECTIVE OF COMM || the most directly or totally affected participant in the action is to be seen as most prominent.

/ Sincompletive (M-on)
completive (M-in-)

(14) *Patoy- -on- -na dit osan kannelu na, ...* 9
kill,CMP Af1F he NM one sheep his (most directly affected)

By the focus affixation that the communicator places on a verb he is in effect telling the audience which of the participants in the action he wants to be viewed as most prominent. The participant so singled out is indicated in the morphemics by its position in the clause (MCl.F2), as well as by the use of special sets of pronouns, the lack of case-marking in the case of ordinary noun phrases, or the particle *si* in the case of proper names. In the case of affixes that focus the primary function participant (PF), there can be no filler of the MCl.F1. In order to be placed in this special focus relationship to the verb, a participant must be specific and normally also definite (i.e., previously identified). However, in the text of the Appendix the sheep is focused in its first occurrence. A possible explanation for this is that, in folk tales, the communicator may be assuming that the audience knows certain of the participants in the story.

In addition to the clause, which is the most frequent element in the MChain, the morphotactic trace (chart 3) also includes elements of the chain that are not constituents of the clause. Some of these occur as constituents of the noun phrase, represented by the seven columns to the left of the clause columns. The seven constituents of the NP are represented by the following formula:

$$^{M}_{NP} = \text{P4: } da \quad \text{P3: } \begin{Bmatrix} tu \\ nat \\ di \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{P2: } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-n; } \emptyset \\ \text{-t} \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{P1: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{1. AdjW 2. } \begin{Bmatrix} un \\ -a \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{C: } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{noun} \\ \text{verb} \\ \text{clause} \end{Bmatrix}$$

$$\text{F1: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{1. -N 2. n} \\ \text{prn2 NP} \\ \text{prn2} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{F2: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{1. } \begin{Bmatrix} un \\ -a \end{Bmatrix} \text{ 2. } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{noun} \\ \text{clause} \\ \text{AdjW} \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

The following are some of the M\S realization relationships for the $^{M}_{NP}$ and its constituents found in this text.

$$^{M}_{NP} \setminus ^{S} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{EV ACTIVITY} \\ \text{EV PSYCHOLOGICAL} \\ \text{Kinship} \\ \text{SOC.REF} \\ \text{Attribution (etc.)} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The following are examples of some of these functions stated in terms of S/M realization relationships.

(15) $^{S}_{\text{EV ACT}}$ / $^{M}_{NP}$ = P3: *di-* + P2: *-t* + C: VW=*koon* + F1: prn2= *da* 3
do they

(16) $^{S}_{\text{SOC.REF}}$ / $^{M}_{NP}$ = P3: *-di-* + P2: *-t* = C: n=*gayyom* + F1: prn= *na* 7
friend his

The following are the M\S realizations $^{M}_{NP.P4}$ and $^{M}_{NP.P3}$ followed by an example of the latter:

$^{M}_{NP.P4} \setminus ^{S}$Plurality

^{S}Plurality / $^{M}_{NP.P4}$: *da*

$^{M}_{NP.P3} \setminus ^{S}$PROXIMITY (to COMM or AUD)

(17) ^{S}near AUD / $^{M}_{NP.P3}$: *nat* *(Ulay laweng nat* ... *gayyom nu* ...) 26-27
even bad the.near.hearer friend your

The following is the M\S realization of $^{M}_{NP.P3}$ followed by an example of its occurrence from the text:

$^{M}_{NP.P2} \setminus ^{S}$EXOPHORIC[3] OR ENDOPHORIC REFERENCE

(18) ^{S}ENDOPHORIC REF / $^{M}_{NP.P2}$: *-n* (... *innon tu- -n kook*, ...) 12
how near.speaker endophoric do.I

[3] For a discussion of how endophoric and exophoric reference is expressed by the use of different noun-marking particles, see Wiens 1986.

The following is the M\S realization of ^{M}NP.P1 followed by an example:

^{M}NP.P1 \ ^{S} { Attribution / QUANTITY }

(19) ^{S}QUANTITY / ^{M}NP.P1: *amina* (*amin* + *-a* *kanon da* ...) 3
all LK food their

The following is the M\S realization of ^{M}NP.C followed by an example:

^{M}NP.C \ ^{S} { ITEM / PART / ACTIVITY / Kin.REF-rank (etc.) }

(20) ^{S}Partitive / ^{M}NP.C : *ulu* (*di-* *-t* *ulu* *na* ...) 13
distant exophoric head his

The following is the M\S realization of ^{M}NP.F1 followed by an example:

^{M}NP.F1 \ ^{S} { Kin.REF+rank / SOC.REF+rank / WHOLE / OWNER / AGENT (etc.) }

(21) ^{S}WHOLE / ^{M}NP.F1: *na* (*di-* *-t* *ulu* *na* ...) 13
distant exophoric head his

The following is the M\S realization of ^{M}NP.F2 followed by an example:

^{M}NP.F2 \ ^{S} { Attribution / IDENTIFIER (etc.) }

(22) ^{S}IDENTIFIER / ^{M}NP.F2: *un* *mansunud* (*dit* *mansubosubog* *da* *un* *mansunud.*) 6
NM fight they REL rel.as.sib

The morphotactic trace (chart 3) also reveals a number of individual words which, although they are not actually functioning as constituents of an NP, are charted in the columns representing the NP construction. Some of these are question words or vocatives, which I have placed in the column for NP constituents. But most of the individual words in this text are adjective words functioning in predication focus (i.e., as predicates in relation to an adjacent NP). Technically, however, they are not regarded as constituents of a clause because they lack the inflectional potential characteristic of the constituents of the Cl.C. In Kalinga, both adjective and noun words characteristically occur in this type of predication focus, usually in identificational or attribution constructions. The following is an example of this type of construction:

(23) *Napiya* *dit* *koon da* 7
good,PredFocus NM do they

In Kalinga all NPs except those that stand in a focus relationship to a predicate must be marked by one of three sets of case markers.[4] One type of case marker occurs on NPs expressing such semantic functions as OWNER, WHOLE, or nonfocused primary participant in a clause. The marker for this is an optional particle *di-* prefixed to P4 or P3 of the noun phrase and an *-n* attached to the preceding word if it ends in a vowel. The marker of proper names with these same semantic functions is *ud* plus the *-n* on a preceding vowel. Such NPs can be replaced by prn2. A second type of case marker consists of two allomorphs, *si-* or *ut-*, which are prefixed to the P4 or P3 of the NP. Pronouns or proper names of people in this case are marked by *kan*. NPs so marked occur in Cl.F3 and can be replaced by prn5. Proper names of people standing in a focus relationship to a predicate are marked by *si*, but other focused NPs receive no case marking. Noun phrases marked for this second case express such semantic functions as GOAL or LOCATION when they are not in a focused relationship to the verb.

Another case marker, *sa-*, is used to mark topic NPs that are preposed to the clause. This case marker is used for both ordinary NPs and plural proper names. Singular proper names are marked for this case by the particle *si*. The column immediately to the left of the NP constituents in chart 3 shows the case markers in the text of the Appendix.

The first column of chart 3 charts a number of individual morphemes, most of which seem to be used to realize SInterproposition functions. The following are examples of some of these types of morphemes in this text along with the semantic functions they realize. These are expressed in terms of M\S formulae.

M*yoong* \ SRELATION LOGICAL : contraexpectation

(24) ... ***yoong*** *adi da matakung* ... 1
but not they PF,get.along,INC

M*ta* \ MRELATION LOGICAL: {evidence / purpose / reason}

(25) ... *yoong adi da matakung* ***ta*** *manggulagula da.* 1
but not they PF,get.along,INC for PF,always.fight,INC they

M*nu* \ SRELATION LOGICAL: condition

(26) ***Nu*** *awad isidan dit osa ... ina kampay itdan dit osa.* 5
if exist viand NM one go.he certainly give,INC NM other

M*ot* \ STemporal Arrangement SEQUENTIAL

(27) ... *dakngon da man, kannelu.* ***Ot*** *nilangon da* ... 24-25
arrive,INC they TA, SEQ (saw).sheep and singe,CMP they

[4] For a more thorough discussion of case-marking particles in Limos Kalinga, see Wiens 1986.

^{M}*ulay* \ ^{S}RELATION LOGICAL: concession

(28) *Ulay laweng nat sunud nu, taguwon dika ...* 6
even bad NM brother your save,INC you

^{M}*man* \ ^{S}Temporal Arrangement + PHASE

(29) *Dumatong man ø ... gumminga ø ...* 12
arrive(go,PHASE,finish) TA he call he

The first column of chart 3 also lists morphemes such as ^{M}*un* (used to introduce ^{S}QUOTATION DIRECT) and ^{M}*nu* (used to introduce ^{S}QUOTATION INDIRECT). The direct quotes are enclosed in the trace by solid lines and the indirect quotes by dotted lines.

2.2 Semotactic trace

The semotactic trace is charted according to semantic data organized on the basis of morphological criteria. The trace was constructed in two stages. In the first stage (chart 4), which is an intermediate stage between the morphotactic trace and the semotactic trace, I simply listed the morphemic realizations of the various ^{S}Propositions in columns according to criteria from the morphemics which I felt would prove useful in the semantics. In the first column I listed the NPs that were marked for topic case and preposed to a clause. In the next two columns I listed the clauses. Clauses with VW + completive aspect were listed in column 2 and clauses with VW + incompletive aspect in column 3. In column 4 I listed the existential constructions. In column 5 adjective words with predication focus followed by NPs were listed. In column 6 NPs with predication focus followed by another NP were listed. The next two columns were for constructions that signaled ^{S}Temporal Arrangement: in column 7, TAs signalled by *man* and in column 8, TAs signalled by *un*. Then there were three columns for ^{S}Logical Arrangement. First came LAs with *ta*, then LAs with *un*, and finally LAs with *nu*. The last column was used for the ^{S}QUOTATION of the ^{S}Conversation Block.

The same columns were used in the second stage of the semotactic charting (chart 5), but the semotactic constructions and their fillers were spelled out. In most semantic constructions the constituents involve a semantic function filled by a semantic distribution class or embedded construction. Semantic functions in various kinds of propositions include such things as AGENT, GOAL, ACTIVITY, EXPERIENCER, STIMULUS, EXPERIENCE, REACTOR, REACTION, AFFECT, SPATIAL LOCATION, TEMPORAL LOCATION, ITEM, ATTRIBUTION, IDENTIFIED, IDENTIFIER, OWNER, OWNED, etc. The fillers in a static formula include thing, action, mental process, psychological process, perception, phasals, relationals, attributes, etc. The trace formulae used in chart 5 give the specific fillers found in the text rather than the filler classes. The following is an example of a static formula:

(30) ^{S}EV ACTIVITY = AGENT: thing + GOAL: thing + ACTIVITY: action

The first thing that stands out as we examine the semotactic trace is the fact that the distribution of clauses with VW + completive and clauses with VW + incompletive aspect is limited to certain portions of the text.[5] The text begins with a section of propositions inflected for incompletive aspect, then moves into a section that has mostly completive aspect, and finally moves back to incompletive

[5] It should be noted that in this particular model of stratificational grammar the ^{S}Discourse is somewhat more narrowly defined than it may be in other models. The ^{S}Discourse is seen as consisting of a succession of ^{S}Temporal Arrangements. What might be called discourse in other models, such as Longacre's tagmemics, is here referred to as ^{S}Text.

at the end. This would suggest a division of the text into three major parts. This apparent three-part division of the text is further corroborated by the fact that the same parts that are characterized by VW + incompletive also have the majority of the ^{S}Logical Arrangements and no occurrences of ^{S}Temporal Arrangements. In the central part of the text, which is characterized by VW + completive, there are relatively few ^{S}LAs, but all of the ^{S}TAs in the text occur in the central part as do all of the ^{S}EV CONVERSATION.

Looking more closely at the semantic constructions involved in these three parts of the text we see, as we go through the section characterized by VW + completive, that the first two parts seem to be tied together by the fillers of the functions all being third person, that is, $\overline{\text{COMM}}$ and $\overline{\text{AUD}}$, except in the cases of the ^{S}QUOTATION DIR in the ^{S}Conversation Block, where the referents are represented as either COMM or AUD. In contrast to this the last part is addressed entirely to the AUDIENCE. On the basis of this evidence from the semotactic trace we can construct the following formula for the ^{S}Text:

^{S}Text = C: [^{S}Discourse Narr = P: non-Temp Arrang + C^{n}: Temp Arrang]

F: ^{S}Conversation Block

Looking more closely at the various columns in the semotactic trace (chart 5), we may ask further about the functions encoded by the various constructions represented by each column. The first column contains ^{M}NPs, which are preposed to a clause and are characterized in the phonological stratum by a special intonation pattern which sets them off from the following clause. The function of this type of preposing in participant identification and participant ranking has already been discussed in section 1. Here it is simply noted that these constructions occur only in the ^{S}Disc.P, and thus provide additional confirmation for setting up this position in the structure of the ^{S}Discourse.

Column 2 contains constructions characterized by completive aspect in the ^{M}VW. This is by far the most frequent construction in the text, confirming the status of the section of the text characterized by this construction as the nucleus of the ^{S}Disc, which in turn is the nucleus of the ^{S}Text. The constructions in this column are clearly a series of ^{S}Temporal Arrangements, as indicated by the occurrences of the particle *asi* 'then', which is not found in any of the other constructions, and also by the cooccurring ^{S}Temporal Arrangements in columns 7 and 8, which also do not occur with constructions in any of the other columns. This use of the VW + completive aspect in signalling ^{S}Temporal Arrangements further confirms the hypothesis that this construction is used to mark the nucleus of both the discourse and the text.

Column 3 contains constructions that are inflected for incompletive aspect on the verb. This construction is used most frequently at the beginning and end of the text. It frequently occurs in ^{S}Temporal Arrangement constructions (^{S}TAs). The concentration of the incompletive aspect at the beginning and end of the text indicates that its function may be to provide introductory or background information and conclusions. Further evidence for this hypothesis is that VW + incompletive occurs most frequently with ^{S}Logical Arrangements, which are characteristic of background information and conclusions. The incompletive aspect is found in ^{S}TAs only twice in this text, once on the verb 'say', which is almost never inflected for completive aspect in Kalinga. (It would almost seem that the incompletive form of this verb is a frozen form in quotation formulae.) The other occurrence of VW + incompletive in ^{S}TAs cannot be explained at this point. Perhaps it is an error in the data. Or, if the data are correct, perhaps it is explanatory information interjected into the series of ^{S}TAs. The following example occurs in sentence 21 of the text.

(31) *Ina immos ∅ asi na badutan ∅ sit abusonan omson.* 21
go.he bathe,CMP him then he clothe,INC him when finish.he bathe,CMP

If the use of the incompletive here is seen as explanatory information interjected into the series of TAs, then a free translation of example 31 might be, 'He went and bathed him, and then put clothes on him when he had finished bathing him.'

In column 4 there is only one existential construction. It functions to introduce the minor participant as has already been pointed out in section 1. Columns 5 and 6 contain constructions of AdjW + NP and NP + NP with predication focus on the AdjW or first NP. The function of these constructions seems to be to provide background or explanatory information about a participant or an event, making the AdjW or NP especially prominent by putting it in predication focus.

Column 7 consists of ^{S}Temporal Arrangements marked by the particle *man* + incompletive aspect. These constructions function as the first of two propositions in temporal arrangements, that is:

^{S}PROPOSITION PRIOR in ^{S}Temporal Arrangement SEQUENTIAL and
^{S}PROPOSITION A in ^{S}Temporal Arrangement SIMULTANEOUS

They serve to tie together the sequence of temporal arrangements in the ^{S}Disc.C, usually by indicating the finishing phase of the preceding action or the beginning phase of the following action.

Column 8 is used for constructions introduced by the particle *un*, which also seems to introduce ^{S}TA, although in this text there was only one example.

Columns 9-11 were used for constructions indicating ^{S}Logical Arrangement. Column 9 has LAs introduced by *ta*, and these constructions occur as ^{S}LA PROP PRIOR. The ^{S}RELATION LOG: *ta* indicates such logical relationships as evidence, reason, and purpose. The function of these constructions as with the other ^{S}LAs seems to be mainly to provide explanatory information about the participants and events in the main propositions of the text. In column 10 are constructions indicating LAs introduced by *un*. These also function as ^{S}LA PROP PRIOR in which case the ^{S}RELATION LOG: *un* expresses such functions as manner and purpose. Column 11 consists of ^{S}LA PROP PRIOR introduced by the ^{S}RELATION LOG: *nu* indicating ^{S}Condition.

Column 12, the last column, consists of ^{S}QUOTATIONS filled by the content of what the participants are reported to say, either directly or indirectly. The function of the ^{S}QUOTATIONS seems to be at least in part to dramatize the reported events and also to provide background for the events in the ^{S}Disc.C. The fact that these quotations occur only in the ^{S}Disc.C may also mark this as a separate constituent in the structure of the discourse.

In charting the morphotactic trace and the semotactic trace I became increasingly aware of the frequency of several constructions, not all of which were charted separately in the charts. I noticed that many of the events consisted of apparently complex predicates, that is, 'go' plus the main event. Many of these occurred in conjunction with the particle *asi* 'then'. In addition, there was the very frequently occurring construction introduced by *man*. I began to wonder if these constructions could be functioning together in some way that was relevant to the organization of the whole text. So I constructed another chart (chart 6) using three columns: the first for events marked by the preposed topic NPs, the second for events marked by the complex predicate 'go' plus another verb, followed where applicable by *asi* 'then', and the third for constructions marked by *man*. I felt that the combination of these three constructions resulted in a fairly concise condensation or abstract (i.e., macrostructure) of the essential information in the ^{S}Disc.

2.3 Referential plot trace

The referential plot trace (chart 7) is based on the distinction found in the semotactic trace between constructions that show ^{S}Temporal Arrangements and those that do not. A separate column was used for each of the participants. This charting showed the same three divisions found in the ^{S}Text. The use of a separate column for each participant occurring in ^{S}PRIMARY FUNCTION in event propositions also points up the possibility of a further division of the text into eight ^{S}Paragraphs. A new paragraph

begins each time the primary role function in the events changes to a new participant or group of participants.

A comparison of the referential plot trace (chart 7), the semotactic trace (chart 5), and the semantic structure observed in the text, especially the three-part division in the construction of the ^{S}Text, leads to questions about the functions of the structures observed in the semantics for the communication situation, especially in terms of the INTENT of the communicator and how he accomplishes this intent.

Looking first at the structure of the ^{S}Discourse, we may ask why the communicator has divided the discourse into two parts. We see that the semantic propositions of the ^{S}Disc.P basically involve an introduction of the major participants and a description and contrasting of the ^{S}Kin.REF between Juan and his friend. The tension built up by the contrast between the bad relationship of the brothers and the good relationship of the friends poses a problem that demands resolution. So we may say the ^{S}Disc.P realizes the 'presentation' of the problem. The 'resolution' of the problem is realized in the ^{S}Disc.C. These realizates of the structure of the ^{S}Disc can be stated in terms of the following realization relationship between the communication situation and the semantic strata.

^{CS}Referential Plot / ^{S}Discourse Narrative

^{S}Discourse.P \ ^{CS}PROBLEM: brothers don't get along

^{S}Discourse.C \ ^{CS}RESOLUTION: brother helps brother when friend does not

Looking at the ^{S}Logical Arrangements together, we see that the communicator seems to be using them to make explanatory comments about the participants or events. Their ^{CS}Realizate then can be stated in terms of the ^{CS}INTENT OF THE COMMUNICATOR in the following CS/S formula:

^{CS}INTENT OF THE COMMUNICATOR 1. to give explanations about the events or participants.
/ ^{S}Logical Arrangements

Looking now at the ^{S}Text as a whole, we see some further indications about the purpose of the communicator in giving this text. His basic purpose or intent seems to be stated in the conclusion of the text, the ^{S}Text.F, where he directs his comments to the audience. He states his conclusion that brothers will help each other in times of trouble but friends will not. His intent as we gather it in this conclusion seems to be to teach the value of ^{S}Kinship relationships. This is stated again in a CS/S realization relationship as follows:

^{CS}INTENT OF THE COMMUNICATOR 2. to teach the value of kin relationships
/ ^{S}Text.F

Similarly the ^{S}Text.C appears to express the communicator's mode of illustrating his primary intent, expressed in the conclusion, of teaching the value of kin relationships. This intent is expressed in the following CS/S realization relationship.

^{CS}INTENT OF THE COMMUNICATOR 3. to illustrate the value of kin relationships
/ ^{S}Text.C

Another interesting feature of this text is the communicator's use of negative constructions. The question arises as to why he should want to use negatives at all. There are three negatives occurring in succession at the very outset of the text, each stating something about what the two brothers did not do, after having stated that they were brothers. It appears that the communicator is taking into account the Kalinga cultural expectation regarding the relationship of brothers. These two brothers were not behaving in the expected way. Each of the negative statements about the behavior of the two brothers is correlated with a statement about what they did do after the problem of their bad

relationship was resolved. The statement that they did not get along together corresponds to the statement in sentence 25 that 'together' they singed the hair of the sheep. The statement that they did not eat together corresponds to the statement in sentence 25 that they ate the sheep together. The statement that they did not enter each other's house corresponds to the statement in sentence 30 that Pedro took Juan into his house and to the statement in sentence 25 that they took the sheep to Pedro's house.

Another negative occurs in sentence 20; it is stated that Pedro did not first ask Juan why he had killed, but immediately took him into his house. Apparently the communicator feels that the audience would have expected Pedro to ask first why Juan had killed someone, so by the use of the negative he appears to be saying something about what he feels is the attitude of the audience. These functions of the negatives are stated in the following CS/S formula.

$$^{CS}\text{CONTRAEXPECTED BEHAVIOR} \;||\; \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{CULTURE: Kalinga} \\ \text{AUDIENCE: reaction}\end{matrix}\right\} \;/\; ^{S}\text{NEGATION}$$

3. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated the value of the stratificational model in looking at language in relatively small chunks at the various stratal levels while at the same time showing how the structural aspects of the language at the various stratal levels can be related and integrated into a unified whole by means of the realization relationships between the strata. This model of stratificational grammar developed by Ilah Fleming has proven particularly useful in its ability to show the relationship of the communication situation to the structure of language.

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Appendix

Sadatun Duwan Mansunud	**The Two Brothers**
these,T two rel.as.sib	
1. Sada Juan kan Pedro, mansunud da, yoong adi da T,PL Juan and Pedro rel.as.sib they but not they *matakung ta manggulagula da. 2. Adi da* PF,get.along,INC for PF,always.fight,INC they not they *mankakkakan kan manlollonok si boloy.* PF,eat.together,REC,INC conj PF,enter,REC,INC NM house	1. Juan and Pedro were brothers, but they did not get along well, for they were always fighting. 2. They did not eat together nor enter each other's house.
3. Si Juan, inggaw gayyom na ot napiya dit koon da ta amina T Juan exist friend his and good NM do their for all *kanon da, manggogwaan da. 4. Kanayuna man'abaabat da un* food their divide,INC they always PF,meet,INC they REL *umoy man'ay'ayaw si uduma boboloy umoy manggan-ganas. 5. Nu* go,INC visit,INC NM other village go,INC enjoy,INC if *awad isidan dit osa kan dida ot napiya, ina kampay itdan dit* exist viand NM one OBL them and good go.he certainly give,INC NM *osa.* other	3. Juan had a friend, and they got along well together, for they shared all their food. 4. They would always meet together to go visiting in other places to go have a good time. 5. If one had food, he would always go share it with the other.
6. Mansomsomok man si Juan, laweng dit mamuutana utdit PF,think,INC TA,SEQ NM Juan bad NM PF,think.his NM *mansubosubog da un mansunud. 7. Napiya dit koon da* fight they REL rel.as.sib PredFocus,good NM do they *utdit gayyom na. 8. Nangwa si sikap ta mangil'ana nu* NM friend his PF,make,CMP NM plan purpose see.he if *kamaan dit napiya un gayyom sit lawenga sunud. 9. Ina pinatoy* how NM good REL friend NM bad,REL brother go.he kill,CMP *dit osan kannelu na, asi na nan'omos dit dalan dit kannelu.* NM one sheep his then he bathe,CMP NM blood.of NM sheep *10. Niloglogan inamin dit ulu na. 11. Maabus man,* wash.hair,CMP,he completely NM head his finish TA,SEQ *nanukduklusa ø ummoy sit gayyom na. 12. Dumatong man sit* run,CMP he go,CMP NM friend his arrive TA,SEQ NM *paway dit gayyom na, gumminga un, gayyom, innon* yard.of the friend his call CMP,QUO,VOC friend how *tun kook, taguwonak ta kummatoyak si tagu.* near.speaker do.I PF,save.me for kill,CMP,I NM person	6. As he was thinking, Juan concluded that it was bad for him and his brother to be fighting. 7. He and his friend were getting along well together. 8. He came up with a plan to see how a good friend and a bad brother compared. 9. He went and killed one of his sheep, and then he bathed in the blood of the sheep. 10. He washed his hair in it completely. 11. When he had finished, he went running to his friend. 12. When he arrived at the yard of his friend, he called, saying, "Friend, what will I do? Save me, for I have killed a person."

13. Umisdung man dit gayyom na, tuttuwan pasig dala dit
look.out,INC TA,SEQ the friend his true total blood NM
ulu na kan long'ag na. 14. Sumungbat man dit gayyom na
head his and body his answer,INC TA,SEQ NM friend his
kananan, ay gayyom, siya nat adik piyaon ta sumaglat ka
say.he,QUO hey friend that NM not.I like for incriminate,INC you
un lawa kan dikami.
LK only OBJ,prn us

13. When his friend looked out, sure enough, his head and body were covered with blood. 14. Answering, his friend said, "Hey, friend, that is what I don't like, for you will just incriminate us."

15. Kaysan si Juan. 16. Nanukdul-as ø uman. 17. Dumatong
leave NM Juan run,CMP he again arrive,INC
man sit paway dit sunud na, gumminga un, sunud, taguwonak
TA,SEQ NM yard NM brother his call,CMP QUO brother save.me
ta kummatoyak si tagu.
for kill,CMP,I NM person

15. Juan left. 16. He ran again. 17. When he arrived at his brother's yard, he called, saying, "Brother, save me, for I have killed a person."

18. Umila man dit sunud na utdit paway, pasig dala dit
look,INC TA,SEQ NM brother his NM yard total blood NM
ulu na kan long'ag na. 19. Dagusa lummayug si Pedron
head his and body his immediately jump,CMP NM Pedro
sunud na ot dinokmaana dit iman Juan. 20. Innilnok na
brother his and grab.he,CMP NM hand.of Juan bring.in,CMP he
ø utdit boloy un adi na yan inimus nu apay kummatoy. 21.
him PF,NM house REL not he still ask,CMP if why kill,CMP
Ina immos asi na badutan sit abusonan omson. 22.
go.he bathe,CMP then he clothe,INC when finish.he bathe,INC
Mambadubadut manon, pinakanana. 23. Maabus man mangan, asi
clothe,INC TA,SEQ feed.he,CMP finish TA,SEQ eat,INC then
na inimus nu sin kawad dit pinatoy na.
he ask,CMP if LOC where NM kill,CMP he

18. When his brother looked in the yard, his head and body were all bloody. 19. Immediately Pedro, his brother, jumped up and grabbed Juan's hand. 20. He brought him into the house not even asking first why he had committed murder. 21. He went and bathed him and then put clothes on him when he had finished bathing him. 22. Having dressed him, he fed him. 23. When he had eaten, then he asked where the person was whom he had killed.

24. Ummoy Juan impuyut, yoong dakngon da man, kannelu.
go,CMP Juan bring,CMP but arrive,INC they TA,SEQ sheep
25. Ot nilangon dan duwa, asi da indallay ø sit boloy
and singe,CMP they,LK two then they take,CMP it NM house
Pedro ta ida inutu asi da kinana duwa.
Pedro purp go.they cook,CMP then they eat,CMP two

24. Juan brought him to the place, but when they got there, it was a sheep. 25. So they singed it together and then they took it to Pedro's house, to go cook it, and then they ate it together.

26. Ulay laweng nat sunud nu, taguwon dika nu nasigab nat
even bad NM brother your save,INC you if difficult NM
ipamasak nu. 27. Ulay napiya nat gayyom nu, adi dika matagu nu
happen your even good NM friend your not you save,INC if
nasigab nat isamak nu.
difficult NM happen your

26. Even if your brother is bad, he will save you if you are in trouble. 27. Even if your friend is a good one, he won't save you when you are in trouble.

Chart 1. Morphemic trace

	Ref Pedro		Ref Juan		Ref friend		Ref food/person		Ref plan/sheep		TEMP LOC/SPAT LOC	
	Pedro	T	Juan	T								
related as siblings	*da* (they)	Kin.REF	*da* (they)	Kin.REF								
not get along	*da*	REA	*da*	REA								
always quarrel	*da*	AG	*da*	AG								
not eat together	*da*	AG	*da*	AG							} each other's houses	SPAT LOC
(not) enter	*ø*	AG	*ø*	AG								
			si Juan	T								
exist			*na* (his)	SOC.REF + rank	*gayyem* (friend)	SOC.REF - rank						
do (good)			*da*	AG	*da*	AG						
divide share			*da* *da*	AG OWNER	*da* *da*	AG OWNER	*emina hanon* (all food) *ø*	OWNED				
meet			*da*	AG	*da*	AG						
go visit			*ø*	AG	*ø*	AG						
exist (lit)			*dit ona hun dida*	OWNER	*dit ona hun dida*	OWNER	*inida* (viande/food)	OWNED				
go give			*na* (he)	AG	*na* (he)	AG						
			dil ona (the other)	RECIPIENT	*dit ona*	RECIPIENT						
think			*Juan*	PROC								
think (bad)			*na* (he)	PROC								
fight	*da*	AG	*da*	AG								
do (good)			*da* *na*	AG	*da utdit gayyem* (they with his friend)	AG						
				SOC.REF + rank	*gayyem*	SOC.REF - rank						
make a plan			*ø*	AG					*si nikap* (plan)	GL		
see			*na*	EXPR								
know (compare)	*si lawwanga nanad* (bad brother)	an.ITEM			*dit napiyan gayyem* (good friend)	an.ITEM			Ref sheep			
went killed			*na* *na*	OWNER AG					*dit ona kanaka* the one sheep	OWNED GL		

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Chart 1. Morphemic trace (continued)

	Ref_{Pedro}		Ref_{Juan}		Ref_{friend}		$Ref_{food/person}$		$Ref_{plan/sheep}$		TEMP LOC/SPAT LOC	
bathed			*na*	AG					blood of the sheep	INSTR		
wash hair			*na* his head (all)	AG GL								
finished			*ø*	AG								
ran			*ø*	AG								
went			*na* *ø*	SOC.REF + rank AG	*gayyam* (friend) *gayyam* (friend)	SOC.REF - rank LOC						
arrive			*na* *ø*	SOC.REF + rank AG	*gayyam* *gayyam*	SOC.REF - rank OWNER					yard	SPAT LOC OWNED
shout			*ø*	speaker								
					gayyam (friend)	ADDRESSEE						quote
what do (question)			*ku* (I)	AG								
save			*ak* (me)	GL	*ø*	AG						
kill			*ak* (I)	AG			*si tagu* (a person)	GL				
look out			*na*	SOC.REF + rank	*gayyam*	SOC.REF - rank EXP						
(truly all bloody)			his head + his body	un.ITEM								
answer			*na*	SOC.REF + rank	*gayyam*	SOC.REF - rank speaker						
say					*na*	speaker						
			ay gayyam	ADDRESSEE								quote
not like					*ku*	REA						
incriminate			*ka* (you)	AG	*kan dikami* (us)	GL						
depart			*si Juan*	AG								
ran			*ø*	AG								
arrived	*sumid* (brother)	Kin.REF- rank OWNER (of yard)	*na* *ø*	Kin.REF + rank AG							yard	OWNER SPAT LOC
shouted			*ø*	speaker								

Chart 1. Morphemic trace (continued)

	Ref$_{Pedro}$		Ref$_{Juan}$		Ref$_{friend}$		Ref$_{fond/person}$		Ref$_{plan/sheep}$		TEMP LOC	SPAT LOC
	sumud (brother)	ADDRESSEE										quote
save	*ø*	AG	*ak* (me)	GL								
kill			*ak* (I)	AG			*si tagu* (a person)	GL				
look	*sumud*	Kin.REF - rank EXPR	*na*	Kin.REF + rank							yard	SPAT LOC
(total blood)			his head his body	set/ITEM								
jump up immediately	*si Pedro un sumud*	AG Kin.REF - rank	*na*	Kin.REF + rank								
grabbed	*na* (he)	AG	the hand of Juan	GL								
conduct inside	*na* (he)	AG	*ø*	GL							house	SPAT LOC
not ask	*na* (he)	speaker										
why kill			*ø*	AG								ind. quote
went behind	*na*	AG	*ø*	GL								
clothe	*na*	AG	*ø*	GL							finish bathing	TEMP LOC
dress (finish)			*ø*	AG								
feed	*na*	AG	*ø*	GL								
eat (finish)			*ø*	AG								
ask	*na* (he)	speaker										
where			*na* (he)	AG			the one killed					ind. quote
go conduct	*ø*	GL	Juan	AG								
arrive	*da* (they)	AG	*da* (they)	AG					sheep	Iden. GL		
singe hair	*da* (they)	AG	*da* (they)	AG					*ø*	GL		
take along	*da*	AG	*da*	AG					*ø*	GL	house of Pedro	SPAT LOC
go cook	*da*	AG	*da*	AG					*ø*	GL		
eat	*da*	AG	*da*	AG					*ø*	GL		

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		Ref Juan	Ref Pedro	Ref friend	Ref food	Ref idea	Ref sheep
Communication	COMM	5 times	—	2 times			
Incident	AUD	2 times	1 time	1 time			
Functions	C̄; Ā	other	other	other	all	all	all
S Class		human	human	human	food	idea	sheep
S ATTRIB: Sex		male	male	(male)*			?
S ATTRIB: Evaluation			bad	good			
S Interparticipant role							
S Kin		+ rank (bro)	- rank (bro)				
S SOC.REF		+ rank		- rank			
S Ownership		OWNER (food, sheep)	OWNER (yard, house)	OWNER (food, yard)	OWNED		OWNED
S Single Participant							
S Existential				EXISTENTIAL			
S Partitive		WHOLE { body, head, hand }					WHOLE { blood }
S Identification							
S Naming		Juan	Pedro	(EXISTENIAL)			
S TOPIC (sentence)		29 times	8 times	6 times	none	none	7 times
S TOPIC (discourse)		2 times	1 time	none	none	none	none
S Primary function		61 times	24 times	12 times	none	none	none
S $\overline{\text{Primary}}$ function		12 times	6 times	7 times	3 times	1 time	10 times

*culturally predicted

Chart 2. Summary from semantics and the communication situation.

Chart 3. Morphotactic trace—Noun Phrase

	CASE	PLURALITY	SPECIFICATION	REFERENCE EXOPHORIC ENDOPHORIC	NUMBER ATTRIBUTION	Kin.REF SOC.REF ACTIVITY PART OWNED ITEM	SOC.REF+rank Kin.REF+rank PROCESSOR AGENT WHOLE OWNER	IDENTIFIER
Interproposition	case: morph	P4: morph	P3: specifier	P2: morph	P1: {numeral / AdjW}	C: {Cl / verb / noun}	P1: n, NP, prn2	P2: {Cl / AdjW}
	sa- T	*-da* pl				n = *Juan han Pedro* Juan and Pedro		
yoong but								
ta for (evidence)								
kan and (not)								
	si T.PERS					n= *Juan* Juan		
					AdjW= *napiya* good			
			sp= *di-* distant	*-t* exophoric.link		n= *koon* action	prn2= *da* their	
ta for (evidence)					AdjW= *amin- a* all LK	n= *kanan* food	prn2= *da* their	
un purp								
nu cond								
man TA								
					AdjW= *lawang* bad			
			sp= *di-* distant	*-t* exophoric		n= *mamuston-* thinking	prn2= *-na* his	
	ut OBL		sp= *di-* distant	*-t* exophoric		n= *mamanobog-* fighting	prn2= *-da* their	Cl=*un mamanud* who rel.as.sibling
					AdjW= *napiya* good			
			sp= *di-* distant	*-t* exophoric		n= *koon* doing	prn2= *da* their	
	ut OBL		sp= *di-* distant	*-t* exophoric		n= *gayyam* friend	prn2= *na* his	
to purp								
nu cond								

Chart 3. Morphotactic trace—Clause

	EXISTENTIAL EXPRESSION EXPERIENCE COGNITION ACTIVITY REACTION KINSHIP	SPEAKER EXPERIENCER AGENT	INSTRUMENT RECIPIENT GOAL EXPERIENCER SPEAKER PROCESSOR EXIST.thing AGENT Kin.REF	DIRECTION LOCATION GOAL
P: morph	C: {VP / VW}	F1: {prn2 / NP / n}	F2: {prn1,3,4 / NP / n}	F3: {prn5 / NP / n}
	VW= *mansunud* J+P AF rel.as.sibling + INC		prn1= *da* they	
	VP= *adi da mataksung* J+P Item not they agree + INC		—	
	VW= *manggulagula* J+P AF fight.continually + INC		prn1= *da* they	
	VP= *adi da mangkakkakan* J+P AF not they eat,REC + INC		—	
	VW= *ø ø manlollomak* J+P AF (not) (they) enter,REC + INC		*ø*	NP= *si boloy* OBL house
	EXIST= *inggaw* f exist + INC		NP= *gayyam na* friend his	
	VW= *manggogwaan* J+f AF share + INC	prn2= *da* they	prn1= *ø* it	
kanayuna always	VW= *man-abaabat* J+f AF meet,ITR + INC		prn1= *da* they	
	VP= *umoy man-ay-ayaw* J+f AF go visit + INC		*ø*	NP= *si udiama baboloy* OBL other village
	VP= *umoy mangganganas* J+f AF go enjoy,REF + INC		*ø*	
	EXIST= *awad* exist		NP= *isidan dit osa kan* food the one of *dida ut napiya* them LK good	
	VP= *ina kampay iidan* J/f RF go.he certainly give + INC	—	NP= *dit osa* the other	
	VW= *mansomsomak* J AF think/reflect + INC		NP= *si Juan* Juan	
	VW= *Nangwa* J AF made + CMP		prn1= *ø* he	NP= *si sikap* a plan
	VW= *mangil-an* J see/compare + INC	prn2= *na* he		
	Adv= *kamaan* how (compare)		NP= *dit napiya un gayyam* the good friend	NP= *sit lawanga* to.the bad *sunud* brother
	VP= *ina pinatoy* S GF go.he killed + CMP	—	NP= *dit osan kanneku na* the one sheep his	

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Chart 3. Morphotactic trace—Noun Phrase (continued)

	CASE	PLURALITY	SPECIFICATION	REFERENCE EXOPHORIC ENDOPHORIC	NUMBER ATTRIBUTION	Kin.REF SOC.REF ACTIVITY PART OWNED ITEM	SOC.REF+rank Kin.REF+rank PROCESSOR AGENT WHOLE OWNER	IDENTIFIER
Interpreposition	case: morph	P4: morph	P3: specifier	P2: morph	P1: {numeral / AdjW}	C: {Cl / verb / noun}	F1: n, NP, prn2	F2: {Cl / AdjW}
un LK								
man TA								
un purp								
man TA								
un quote						n= *gayyam* friend		
						innan what		
			sp= *ku-* near speaker	*-n* endophoric		n= *koon* doing	prn2= *ku* my	
to reason								
man TA								
					tuthuwen truly	*panig dala* total blood		
			sp= *di-* distant	*-i* exophoric		n= *uku* head	prn2= *na* his	
kan and						n= *long-ag* body	prn2= *na* his	
man TA								
un quote						n= *ay gayyam* hey friend		
						prn= *siya* that		
			sp= *nat* near hearer	*ø* endophoric		Cl= *adik piyaon* not.I like		
man TA								

Chart 3. Morphotactic trace—Clause (continued)

	EXISTENTIAL EXPRESSION EXPERIENCE COGNITION ACTIVITY REACTION KINSHIP	SPEAKER EXPERIENCER AGENT	INSTRUMENT RECIPIENT GOAL EXPERIENCER SPEAKER PROCESSOR EXIST.thing AGENT Kin.REF	DIRECTION LOCATION GOAL
P: morph	C: {VP / VW}	F1: {prn2 / NP / n}	F2: {prn1,3,4 / NP / n}	F3: {prn5 / NP / n}
	VP= *asi na nan-amas* blood IF then he bathed + CMP	—	NP= *dit dalan* (in).the blood *dit kanneku* of.the sheep	
	VW= *Niloglogan inamin* head GF wash.hair completely + CMP	prn2= *na* he	NP= *dit ulu na* the head his	
	VW= *naabus* J ITEM finish + INC		prn1= ∅ he	
	VW= *nanukdukdus* J AF ran + CMP		prn1= ∅ he	
	VW= *ummoy* J AF went + CMP		∅	NP= *sil gayyom na* to.the friend his
	VW= *dumatong* J AF arrive + INC		prn1= ∅ he	NP= *sil pawoy dit* to.the yard of.the *gayyom na* friend his
	VW= *gummingo* J AF shouted + CMP		prn1= ∅ he	
	VW= *taguwon* J GF save + INC		prn3= *-ak* me	∅
	VW= *kummatoy* J AF killed + CMP		prn1= *-ak* I	NP= *si tagu* a person
	VW= *umisdung* f AF look.out + INC		NP= *dit gayyom na* the friend his	
	VW= *sumungbat* f AF answer + INC		NP= *dit gayyom na* the friend his	
	VW= *kunan* say	prn2= *na* he		
	VW= *sumaglat* J AF incriminate + INC		prn1= *ka un lawa* you only	PRN= *kan dikami* OBL us
	VW= *kayaan* J AF left + CMP		NP= *si Juan* Juan	
	VW= *Nanukdukdus* J AF ran + CMP		prn1= ∅ *uman* he again	
	VW= *Dumatong* J AF arrive + INC		prn1= ∅ he	NP= *sil pawoy dit* to.the yard of.the *sunud na* brother his

Chart 3. Morphotactic trace—Noun Phrase (continued)

	CASE	PLURALITY	SPECIFICATION	REFERENCE EXOPHORIC ENDOPHORIC	NUMBER ATTRIBUTION	Kin.REF SOC.REF ACTIVITY PART OWNED ITEM	SOC.REF+rank Kin.REF+rank PROCESSOR AGENT WHOLE OWNER	IDENTIFIER
Interproposition	case morph	P4: morph	P3: specifier	P2: morph	P1: {numeral / AdjW}	C: {Cl / verb / noun}	F1: n, NP, prn2	P2: {Cl / AdjW}
un quote						n= *nanad* brother		
ta reason								
man TA								
						pasig dala total blood		
			sp= *di-* distant	*-i* exophoric		n= *ulu* head	prn2= *na* his	
kan and						n= *long-ag* body	prn2= *na* his	
et and								
un								
nu IndQuote						*apay* why		
manoc TA								
man TA								
nu IndQuote	*n*		*ij*	*-n*		*kanad* where		
			sp= *di-* distant	*-i* exophoric		n= *pinatoy* kill	prn2= *na* his	
yoong man but TA								
						n= *kanaku* sheep		
et and								

Chart 3. Morphotactic trace—Clause (continued)

	EXISTENTIAL EXPRESSION EXPERIENCE COGNITION ACTIVITY REACTION KINSHIP	SPEAKER EXPERIENCER AGENT	INSTRUMENT RECIPIENT GOAL EXPERIENCER SPEAKER PROCESSOR EXIST thing AGENT Kin.REF	DIRECTION LOCATION GOAL
P: morph	C: {VP / VW}	F1: {prn2 / NP / n}	F2: {prn1,3,4 / NP / n}	F3: {prn5 / NP / n}
	VW= *gummingo* J AF shouted + CMP		prn1= ∅ he	
	VW= *taguwon* J GF save + INC		prn3= *-ak* me	∅
	VW= *kummatoy* J AF killed + CMP		prn1= *-ak* I	NP= *si tagu* a person
	VW= *umila* P AF look + INC		NP= *dit sunud na* the brother his	NP= *usdit ponoy* LOC yard
dagusa immediately	VW= *kummayug* P AF jumped up + CMP		NP= *si Pedron* Pedro.who *sunud na* brother his	
	VW= *dinakonaan* hand GF grabbed + CMP	prn2= *na* he	NP= *dit iman Juan* the hand.of Juan	
	VW= *inilnak* J GF brought.in + CMP	prn2= *na* he	prn4= ∅ him	NP= *usdit boloy* into.the house
	VP= *adi na yan inimus* GF not he yet asked + CMP	—		
	VW= *kummatoy* J AF killed + CMP		prn1= ∅ he	
	VP= *ina* ∅ *immos* J GF go.he him bathed + CMP	—	—	
	VP= *asi na* ∅ *badutan* J RF then he him clothe + INC	—	—	
	VW= *mambadubadut* J AF clothe + INC		prn1= ∅ he	
	VW= *pinakanan-* J RF fed + CMP	prn2= *na* he	prn4= ∅ him	
	VP= *maabus* ∅ *mangan* J finish he eat + INC		—	
	VP= *asi na inimus* J GF then he asked + CMP	—		
	VP= *ummoy Juan* ∅ *impuyut* P GF went Juan him lead + CMP	—	—	
	VW= *dakngan* S GF arrive + INC	prn2= *da* they	prn4= ∅ it	
	VW= *nilangan* S GF singe.hair + CMP	prn2= *dan duwa* they two	prn4= ∅ it	
	VP= *asi da* ∅ *indalloy* S GF then they it took.along + CMP	—	—	NP= *si boloy* to.the house *Pedro* of.Pedro

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Chart 3. Morphotactic trace—Noun Phrase (continued)

	CASE	PLURALITY	SPECIFICATION	REFERENCE EXOPHORIC ENDOPHORIC	NUMBER ATTRIBUTION	Kin.REF SOC.REF ACTIVITY PART OWNED ITEM	SOC.REF + rank Kin.REF + rank PROCESSOR AGENT WHOLE OWNER	IDENTIFIER
Interproposition	case: morph	P4: morph	P3: specifier	P2: morph	P1: {numeral / AdjW}	C: {Cl / verb / noun}	F1: n, NP, prn2	P2 {Cl / AdjW}
ta purp								
sikay even					AdjW = *lawang* bad			
			sp= *nat* near hearer	∅ endophoric		n= *manud* brother	prn2= *nu* your	
nu if					AdjW = *nasigab* hard			
			sp= *nat* near hearer	∅ endophoric		n= *ipanamak* happening	prn2= *nu* your	
sikay even					AdjW = *napiya* good			
			sp= *nat* near hearer	∅ endophoric		n= *gayyem* friend	prn2= *nu* your	
nu if					AdjW = *nasigab* hard			
			sp= *nat* near hearer	∅ endophoric		n= *ianmak* happening	prn2= *nu* your	

Chart 3. Morphotactic trace —Clause(continued)

	EXISTENTIAL EXPRESSION EXPERIENCE COGNITION ACTIVITY REACTION KINSHIP	SPEAKER EXPERIENCER AGENT	INSTRUMENT RECIPIENT GOAL EXPERIENCER SPEAKER PROCESSOR EXIST.thing AGENT Kin.REP	DIRECTION LOCATION GOAL
P: morph	C : {VP / VW}	F1: {prn2 / NP / n}	F2: {prn1,3,4 / NP / n}	F3: {prn5 / NP / n}
	VP= *ida* *fi inuto* S GP go.they it cooked + CMP	—	—	
	VP= *asi da fi kinano dowa* S GP then they it ate both + CMP	—	—	
	VW= *tagowan* GP save + INC		prn3= *dika* you	∅
	VP= *adi dika matagu* GP not you save + INC		—	∅

Chart 4. Semotactic trace—first stage

M_{NP} + intonation	M_{VW} completive	M_{VW} incompletive	Existential	M_{Adj} + NP	M_{NP} + NP
Juan kan Pedro Juan and Pedro		*manamud a* rel.as.sibling they			
		adi da manlukluksa NEG they ent+RBC			
		kan manlallamak si bolay nor enter+RBC house			
si Juan PERS Juan			*inggaw gayyam na* exist friend his *at napiya dit* and good the *kaan da* do they		
		kanayuna man-abaabat always meet *da* they			
		ina kampay iidan go.he certainly give *dit asa* the other			
				kaweng dit mamastana utdit bad the thinking.his about *manabaanbag da un* the.fighting their *manamud* rel.as.sibling	
				Napiya dit kaan da udit good the do they with *gayyam na* friend his	
	Nangwa si sikap made.he a plan				
	Ina pinatay dit asan go.he killed the certain *kanaku na* sheep his				
	asi na nan-amas dit then he bathed (in).the *dalan dit kanaku* blood.of the sheep				
	Nilaglagman inamin washed.hair.he completely *dit ulu na* the head his				
	nanuhdakkas umnay sit running.CMP went to *gayyam na* friend his				
	gummingo ſi shouted he				
				astowan panig dala truly total blood, *dit ulu na kan lang-ag na* the head his and body his	

Chart 4. Semotactic trace—first stage

^{S}Temp Arrang *man* + INC	^{S}Temp Arrang *un*	^{S}Log Arrang *tafyoong*	^{S}Log Arrang *un*	^{S}Log Arrang *nu*	Conversation Block
		yoong adi da but not they *matahung ta* get.along for *manggulagala da* fight they			
		ta amina kanan da for all food their *mangaggwaan da* share they			
			un umay man-ay-ayaw purp go visit *si uduma bobaloy* LOC other village *(un) umay mangan-ganas* purp go enjoy		
				Nu awad isidan dit ona if exist food the one *kan dida ut napiya* of them good	
Mansonsomok man si think TA PERS *Juan* Juan					
		ta mangil-ana purp see.he		*nu kamaan dit napiya un* if how the good *gayyam ait lawanga* friend to.the bad *nanud* brother	
Maabus man finish TA					
Dumateng man arrive TA					*un, gayyam inan tun* quote friend what this *kook taguwanak ta* doing.my save.me for *kummatoyak si tagu* killed.I NM person

Chart 4. Semotactic trace—first stage (continued)

M_{NP} + intonation	M_{VW} completive	M_{VW} incompletive	Existential	M_{Adj} + NP	M_{NP} + NP
		kanana say.he			
	kayam si Juan left PERS Juan				
	nanukdukha uman ran again				
	gumaiga ſi shouted he				
				panig dala dit ulu na ... total blood the head his	
	Deguan kammayag immediately jumped *si Pedro* PERS Pedro				
	ot dinolomam dit and grabbed.he the *iman Juan* hand.of Juan				
	Innihok na utdit boloy bring.in he LOC house				
	Ina inmas go.he bathed				
		asi na badutan sit then he dresses time *abuanan amam* finished bathing			
	pinakanana fed.he				
	asi na inimus then he asked				
	ummay Juan inpuyut ſi went Juan conducted him				
					kanneki sheep
	ot nilangan dan dawa and singe they two				
	asi da indulley sit then they took LOC *boloy Pedro* house Pedro				
	asi da kinana then they ate.the *dawa* two.of.them				
		tagunon dika ever you		*uday lawang nat sumid su* even had the brother your	
		adi dika matagu not you save		*uday napiyo nat gayyom su* even good the friend your	

Chart 4. Semotatic trace—first stage(continued)

S_{Temp} Arrang *man* + DIC	S_{Temp} Arrang *un*	S_{Log} Arrang *tulyoong*	S_{Log} Arrang *un*	S_{Log} Arrang *nu*	Conversation Block
Umisdung man dit look TA the *gayyam na* friend his					
sumungbat man dit answer TA the *gayyam na* friend his					*un, ay gayyam, siya nat* quote hey friend that the *adik piyaan ta sumaglat* not.I like for incriminate *ka un lawa kan dikami* you LK only OBJ,pra us
Dumatong man sit pooay arrive TA LOC yard *dit sunud na* the brother his					*un, sunud, tagumonak* quote brother save.me *ta kummatoyak si tagu* for killed.I NM person
Umila man dit sunud na look TA the brother his *utdit pooay* LOC yard					
	un adi na yan TA not he first *inimus* asked				*nu apay kummatoy ji* if why killed he
Mambadu badut manan dressed TA					
Maabus man mangan finish TA eat					*nu sin kawad dit pinatoy na* if LOC where the killed he
yoong dakugan da man but arrive they TA					
		ta kda kuta purp go.they cook			
				nu nanjab nat ipasamak if bad the happen *nu* your	
				nu nanjab nat isamak if bad the happen *nu* you	

Chart 5. Semotactic trace—second stage

M_{NP} + Intonation	M_{VW} + Completive	M_{VW} + Incompletive	Existential	Adjective + NP	NP+NP
S_{TOPIC}: Juan + Pedro		S_{Kin}= REF: human +pl (Juan + Pedro) GEN: 0/COLL: 1 sibling	+ $S_{Concession}$		
		S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+P ACT: eat + NEG + REC: with each other			
		S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+P/ACT: go + SPAT LOC: house + DIR: to + REL: in + NEG + REC: each other			
S_{TOPIC}: Juan			S_{Exist}= EXIST: friend $S_{SOC.REF}$= REF1: friend REF2: Juan + rank		
				S_{Attr}= att: good ITEM: S_{EV} ACT= AG: J + friend ACT: do	
		S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+friend ACT: meet + FREQ: always + ITERATIVE: redup			
		S_{EV} ACT= AG: one of them J + friend) ACT: go give + REC: the other one			
				S_{EV} COG= PROC: J COG: think PHEN: S_{Attr}= att: bad ITEM: S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+P ACT: fight	
				S_{COORD}: + S_{Attr}= att: good ITEM: S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+friend ACT: do	

Chart 5. Semantic trace—second stage

Prop Prior ^{S}Temp Arrang *mam* + incompletive	Prop Subs ^{S}Temp Arrang *um*	Prop Subs ^{S}Log Arrang *Anjosang*	Prop Subs ^{S}Log Arrang *um*	Prop Prior ^{S}Log Arrang *mu*	Conversation Block
		^{S}counterexpectation but			
		^{S}EV PSYCH= REACTOR: J+P AFFECT: J+P + REC REACTION: get along + NEG			
		^{S}evidence for			
		^{S}EV ACT= AG: J+P ACT: fight + REP: continuous			
		^{S}evidence for			
		^{S}EV ACT= AG: J+friend ACT: share GL: all food + TOPIC PREPOSED			
			^{S}purp *um*		
			^{S}EV ACT= AG: J+friend ACT: go visit + SPAT LOC: other villages + DIR: to		
			^{S}EV ACT= AG: J+friend ACT: go enjoy		
				^{S}condition	
				^{S}Exist= EXIST: food	
				^{S}Ownership= OWNER: one of them	
				^{S}Attr= OWNED/ITEM: food att: good	
^{S}EV COG= PROC: J COG: reflect + ^{S}PHASE: during PHEN: (his fighting with his brother)					

Chart 5. Semotactic trace—second stage (continued)

M_{NP} + Intonation	M_{VW} + Completive	M_{VW} + Incompletive	Existential	Adjective + NP	NP+NP
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Juan ACT: make GL: plan				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Juan ACT: go kill GL: one sheep of his				
	S_{EV} ACT= GL/AG: Juan ACT: bathe + INST: blood of sheep				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Juan ACT: wash GL: head $S_{Totality}$= ITEM: head + Proportion: all				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Juan ACT: go + SPAT LOC: friend's place + DIR: to				
	S_{EV} CONV= SPEAKER: Juan EXPRS: say				
				S_{Attr}= att: total blood $S_{Partitive}$= ITEM/PART head + body WHOLE: Juan	
		S_{EV} CONV= SPEAKER: friend EXPRS: say			
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Juan ACT: leave				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Juan ACT: run + REPETITIVE: again				
	S_{EV} CONV= SPEAKER: Juan EXPRS: soun-/speak				
				S_{Attr}= att: total blood S_{PART}= ITEM/PART: head +body WHOLE: Juan,	
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Pedro ACT: jump + TEMP LOC: immediately				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Pedro ACT: grab S_{PART}= GL/PART: hand WHOLE: Juan				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Pedro ACT: convey GL: Juan + SPAT LOC: house + DIR: to' + REL: in				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Pedro ACT: go bathe GL: Juan				

Chart 5. Semotactic trace—second stage (continued)

Prop Prior ^{S}Temp Arrang *man + incompletive*	Prop Subs ^{S}Temp Arrang *sun*	Prop Subs ^{S}Log Arrang *ta/yoong*	Prop Subs ^{S}Log Arrang *sun*	Prop Prior ^{S}Log Arrang *nu*	Conversation Block
		^{S}purp for			
		^{S}EV COG= PROC: *I* COG: see/compare PHEN: good friend to bad brother			
^{S}PHASE: finish			^{S}MANNER: *sun*		
			^{S}EV ACT= AG: *I* ACT: run		
^{S}EV ACT= AG: Juan ACT: go + ^{S}PHASE: finish					QUO: What will I do? Save me, I killed a person
^{S}EV EXP= EXPR: friend EXP: look					
^{S}EV CONV= SPEAKER: friend EXPRS: answer					QUO: hey friend, that is what I don't like, you will just incriminate us
^{S}EV ACT= AG: Juan ACT: go + ^{S}PHASE: finish + SPAT LOC: yard of bro.					QUO: brother, save me for I killed someone
^{S}EV EXP= EXPR: Pedro EXP: look +^{S}PHASE: during + SPAT LOC: yard + DIR: to					
			^{S}EV CONV= SPEAKER: Pedro EXPR: ask + NEG		QUO: why he killed

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Chart 5. Semotactic trace—second stage (continued)

M_{NP} + Intonation	M_{VW} + Completive	M_{VW} + Incompletive	Existential	Adjective + NP	NP+NP
		S_{EV} ACT= AG: Pedro ACT: clothe GL: Juan + TEMP LOC: finished bathing			
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Pedro ACT: feed GL: Juan				
	S_{EV} CONV= SPEAKER: Pedro EXPR: ask				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: Juan ACT: go bring GL: Pedro + SPAT LOC: place to kill + DIR: to				
					Identification= IDENTIFIER: sheep
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+P ACT: singe hair GL: sheep				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+P ACT: convey GL: sheep + SPAT LOC: house + DIR: to				
	S_{EV} ACT= AG: J+P ACT: eat GL: sheep				
		$S_{CONTRAEXPECTATION}$		$S_{concession}$: even	
		S_{EV} ACT= AG: brother ACT: save GL: AUDIENCE		S_{Attr}= att: bad	
				S_{KIN}= ITEM/REF1: brother REF2: AUDIENCE + rank	
		$S_{CONTRAEXPECTATION}$		$S_{concession}$	
		S_{EV} ACT= AG: friend ACT: save + NEG GL: AUDIENCE		S_{Attr}= att: good ITEM: friend $S_{SOC.REF}$= REF1: friend REF2: AUD + rank	

Chart 5. Semotactic trace—second stage (continued)

Prop Prior ^{S}Temp Arrang *mun* + incompletive	Prop Subs ^{S}Temp Arrang *un*	Prop Subs ^{S}Log Arrang *talyoong*	Prop Subs ^{S}Log Arrang *un*	Prop Prior ^{S}Log Arrang *nu*	Conversation Block
^{S}EV ACT= AG: Juan ACT: dress + ^{S}PHASE: finish					
^{S}EV ACT= AG: Juan ACT: eat + ^{S}PHASE: finish					QUO: Where is the thing killed?
^{S}contraexpectation but					
^{S}EV ACT= AG: J+P ACT: go + ^{S}PHASE: finish					
		Spurp for			
		^{S}EV ACT= AG: J+P ACT: go cook GL: sheep			
				^{S}condition if	
				^{S}Attr= att: hard ITEM: what happens to you	
				^{S}condition if	
				^{S}ATTR= att: hard ITEM: what happens to you	

Chart 6. Abstract of the text

	Propositions with preposed NP	Propositions using 'go' + VW in Cl.C + 'then'	Propositions preceded by *man* Temp Arrangement
1. Juan and Pedro were brothers ...	*Sada Juan kan Pedro,* T,PL Juan and Pedro *mansunud da ...* rel.as.sib they		
3. Juan had a friend ...	*Si Juan, inngaw* T Juan exist *gayyom na ...* friend his		
3. ... they shared all their food.	*... amina kanon da,* all food their *manggogwaan da.* divide,INC they		
4. They would ... go visiting ...		*umoy (da) man'ay'ayaw ...* go,INC they visit,INC	
4. ... to go have a good time.		*umoy (da) manggan-ganas.* go,INC they enjoy,INC	
5. ... would always go share (food) ...		*(Nu awad isidan dit osa)...* if exist viand NM one ina ... itdan dit osa. go.he give,INC NM other	
6. Juan concluded that it was bad for him and his brother to be fighting.			*Mansomsomok man si* PF,think,INC TA,SEQ NM *Juan, laweng dit ... mansubosubog* Juan bad NM fight *da un mansunud. Napiya ...* *they* REL rel.as.sib PFocus,good
9. ... went and killed ... sheep, and then bathed in the blood ...		*Ina pinatoy dit osan* go.he kill,CMP NM one *kannelu na, asi na* sheep his then he *nan'omos dit dala ...* *bathe*,CMP NM blood	
11. ... he went running to his friend.			*Maabus man, nunukdulusa* finish TA,SEQ run,CMP *ø ummoy sit gayyom na.* he go,CMP NM friend his
12. ... he arrived ... he called, saying, ... Save me			*Dumatong man ...gumninga* *arrive* TA,SEQ call *un, ... taguwonak ...* CMP,QUO,VOC save.me
13. ... his friend, looked out ... were covered with blood.			*Umisdung man dit gayyom* look.out,INC TA,SEQ the friend *na, tuttuwan pasig dala ...* his true total blood
(Numbers refer to sentences in the appendix.)			

Chart 6. Abstract of the text (continued)

	Propositions with preposed NP	Propositions using 'go' + VW in Cl.C + 'then'	Propositions preceded by *man* Temp Arrangement
14. Answering ... (he) said, "... I don't like ..."			*Sumungbat man, ... kananan, answer,*INC TA,SEQ say.he,QUO *... adik piyaon ...* not.I like
17. ... he arrived at his brother's yard, he called, ..."save me ..."			*Dumatong man sit ... sunud arrive,*INC TA,SEQ NM brother *na,* gumming un, ... taguwonak·... his call,CMP QUO save.me
18. ... his brother looked ... his head and body were all bloody.			*Umila man dit sunud na,* look,INC TA,SEQ NM brother his *... pasig dala ...* total blood
21. He went and bathed him and then put clothes on him ...		*Ina immos asi na* go.he bathe,CMP then he *badutan ...* clothe,INC	
22. (Juan) having dressed him (brother), he fed him.			*Mambadubadut manon,* clothe,INC TA,SEQ *pinakanana.* feed.he,CMP
23. (Juan) ... had eaten, (brother) ... asked where the person was whom he had killed.			*Maabus man mangan, asi na* finish TA,SEQ eat,INC then he *inimus, ... kawad dit pinatoy na.* ask,CMP where NM kill,CMP he
24. Juan brought him to the place, ...		*Ummoy Juan impuyut ...* go,CMP Juan bring,CMP	
25. ... but when they got there, it was a sheep.			*... yoong dakngon da man,* but arrive,INC they TA,SEQ *kannelu.* sheep(they.found)
25. ... and then they took it to Pedro's house, ...		*... asi da indallay ...* then they take,CMP (sheep)	
25. ... to go cook it, and then they ate it together.		*... ida inutu asi* go.they cook,CMP then *da kinana duwa.* they eat,CMP two	
(Numbers refer to sentences in the appendix.)			

Chart 7. Referential plot trace

	NONTemporal Arrangements			Temporal Arrangements		
	^{Ref}Pedro	^{Ref}Juan	^{Ref}friend	^{Ref}Pedro	^{Ref}Juan	^{Ref}friend
paragraph 1						
sentence 1	rel as sib	rel as sib				
	not get along	not get along				
	always fight	always fight				
sentence 2	not eat together	not eat together				
	not enter each other's house	not enter each other's house				
paragraph 2						
sentence 3		has a friend	friend of Juan			
		they do good	they do good			
		share food	share food			
sentence 4		meet to { go visit / go enjoy	meet to { go visit / go enjoy			
sentence 5		if one has food, shares with other	if one has food, shares with other			
paragraph 3						
sentence 8		purpose: to compare a good friend to a bad brother			think (man) made a plan	
sentence 9					go kill sheep	
					bathe in blood	
sentence 11					finish (man) go to friend	
sentence 12					arrive (man) call	
paragraph 4						
sentence 13						look (man) see
sentence 14						answer (man) say
paragraph 5						
sentence 15,16					leave (man) run	
sentence 17					arrive (man) say	

(Shaded areas are numbered paragraphs of text in the Appendix.)

Chart 7. Referential plot trace (continued)

	NONTemporal Arrangements			Temporal Arrangements		
	Ref_{Pedro}	Ref_{Juan}	Ref_{friend}	Ref_{Pedro}	Ref_{Juan}	Ref_{friend}
paragraph 6						
sentence 18				look (man) see		
sentence 19				jump up		
				grab hand		
sentence 20	not ask first why he kill			bring in house		
sentence 21				go bathe		
				clothe		
sentence 22				feed	go dress (man)	
sentence 23				ask	finish eat (man)	
paragraph 7						
sentence 24					go bring (p. to pasture)	
				arrive (man) (see) sheep	arrive (man) (see) sheep	
sentence 25				singe it (together)	singe it (together)	
	purpose: in order to go cook it			take (to) house	take (to) house	
				eat it (together)	eat it (together)	
paragraph 8						
	Ref_{AUD}					
sentence 26	Even if your brother is bad, he will help you when in trouble.					
sentence 27	Even if your friend is good, he won't help you in time of trouble.					

(Shaded areas are numbered paragraphs of text in the Appendix.)

An Analysis of Polysemy in Kapampangan and Japanese, using the Systems Correspondence Theory

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1. Introduction
2. The Systems Correspondence Theory
3. Physicalism
3.1 Studies in support of physicalism
3.2 Some features of physicalism
4. Systems involved
4.1 Anthropocentrism
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4.3 The plant life system
4.4 The family system
4.5 Other possible systems
5. Grammatical features in Japanese that support the Systems Correspondence Theory
5.1 Classifiers
5.2 *tokoro*
5.3 Direction in compound verbs with *kuru* and *iku*
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1. Introduction

The lexicon of a language (i.e., all its words) may be analyzed in many different ways. The diversity of approaches may be explained perhaps by the wide variety of words within one language. Also, different types of analysis focus on a particular feature of the language, or they exemplify a particular methodology.

One common methodology is the diachronic approach, wherein a reconstructed form that summarizes the phonological or orthographic relationships between genetically related lexical counterparts in the daughter languages is hypothesized using the historico-comparative method. Another popular approach is componential analysis, wherein the meaning of a word is broken into its components and from that the regular patterns of relation are deduced. Still another is logical semantics, analysis in terms of entailments and presuppositions.

The influence structural linguistics has had on other social sciences, followed by the development of formalism in transformational generative grammars and now also in semantic analysis, has given linguistics the prestige of a true science. (With the use of such models, it is assumed that precision and exactitude is always sought.) Such types of 'scientific' analysis concentrate on the internal structure of language. Yet, given the nature of language, this produces an incomplete picture. Language is necessary for communication, and communication presupposes a certain context wherein language is used. The choice of a particular context is related to the kind of analysis that results from it.

For my own study, the cultural context is used, since distinctions in culture account for the difference in perceiving reality, and these distinctions are evident in language. The main concern of this study is

the analysis of semantic diversity or polysemy. And because of the nature of the object of interest, the semantic approach is used, utilizing ordinary language.

Polysemy is a phenomenon in the communication pattern wherein more than one meaning may be attributed to a word or expression. There are words in both Kapampangan and Japanese, and one can venture to say in all living languages, that exhibit polysemy. This study is concerned with polysemy on the word and phrase level as in example 1, in which *mabayat* and *omoi* have at least two meanings each:

(1) Kap[1] *mabayat* (a) heavy (b) serious, important

Jap *omoi* (a) heavy (b) serious

Polysemy can be viewed in two ways. Deductively, one can find words or expressions in a language that have more than one but related meanings as in example 1. Inductively, however, one can imagine a situation (still using example 1) wherein the idea of something serious or important has no corresponding word in the language to signify it. So the native speaker uses the correlative effect of carrying a heavy load. This is 'lexicalization,' the process of 'finding words' for particular sets of semantic features; it has the psychological role of 'packaging' a certain semantic content so that it can be manipulated syntactically as an undivided unity (Leech 1974). The Systems Correspondence Theory accounts for polysemy in just this way.

Words or expressions that are semantically diverse are usually labelled metaphorical, and metaphor comes in many forms such as proverbs, riddles, and lines in poetry. However, this study is limited to a selection of words, phrases, and expressions commonly used in prose. Nevertheless, even though it does not include all speech genres, I believe that the basic pattern explained here is still valid.

2. The Systems Correspondence Theory

The Systems Correspondence Theory was first presented in an earlier study entitled *Kapampangan Lexicography* (del Corro 1985). The theory has direct relevance to lexicography, dictionary making.

Considering example 1 once again, most dictionaries would give the first meaning (the literal meaning), and bigger dictionaries would probably give the second meaning (the derived meaning) as well. Even if the derived meaning is included, the dictionary user still has to depend on an exhaustive listing of meanings. The innovation that the Systems Correspondence Theory (SCT) introduces is the importance of explaining the mechanism of meaning derivation; understanding the framework enables the dictionary user to comprehend the intended derived meanings faster and in a more integrated way.

The Systems Correspondence Theory states that man makes use of already existing systems in his world to identify, label, and in general comprehend the world. 'System' is here defined as a network of coherently interacting parts, an orderly arrangement according to some common law. A constituent of an event is not seen individually but as a component of a system. The mind filters information

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[1] The following abbreviations and symbols are used:

ART	article
COP	copula
JAP	Japanese
KAP	Kapampangan
LK	linker
MK	syntactic marker
PA	particle
SCT	Systems Correspondence Theory
SUF	suffix
'	glottal stop
.	compound gloss

through these existing systems. The information is made to correspond to the existing system by which the event is labelled. The retention of the original name of the system can be explained in two ways: First, the language has no single term to label such a phenomenon; even in cases when it has, a long explanation would have to be resorted to. Second, the use of the name of a common, well-established system provides a vivid description.

There is no limit to the possible systems an individual can make use of since each one's experience is different. However, there are systems that are commonly shared by virtue of man's inherent and generic qualities.

For example, in Kapampangan, in the absence of a word that means the pen is releasing too much ink, the event is labelled and in effect likened to a man having diarrhea: *manakla ya ing pen* 'the pen is having diarrhea'. It means that the pen is releasing too much ink. The event of excessive ink flow is thus translated into the body function system. Even though this is not literally meant, the label is maintained, showing a systematic relationship between the pen's excessive ink flow and the phenomenon of having diarrhea. To use Allan Paivio's (1979) terms, 'pen' is the topic, while 'diarrhea' is the vehicle.

In Japanese, the phenomenon of a sewing machine 'eating up' or pulling the thread more than necessary is either *mishin ga ito o tabechatta* or *mishin ga ito o kande shimaimashita*. The bodily functions of eating and biting are used to describe the said phenomenon.

3. Physicalism

The basic principle underlying the Systems Correspondence Theory is physicalism. This concept assigns significant value to physical phenomena affecting man's thinking and perception. Systems that are physically perceived and felt become a point of reference in understanding other systems.

Man's consciousness is substantially influenced by physical reality. Physical reality is defined as that which can be perceived by the senses, namely, sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch—and that which is indirectly attributed to these senses. Physical qualities are identified as shape, weight, feel, and the like. The visual include those which can be described in spatial terms; the tactile (touch) include sensations physically felt within the human body. Extending this concept, man comprehends nonphysical events by attributing physical features with them. When a nonphysical entity is treated as though it could be seen, touched, heard, felt, or tasted, reference and description thereby achieve clarity. Concomitantly, this gives an exaggerated effect on the referent. Thus, whenever a physicalist expression is used for its derived interpretation, the description is said to be picturesque. This is a consequence rather than an intention.

3.1 Studies in support of physicalism

3.1.1 Jean Piaget (1986)

In Jean Piaget's 1955 study of child developmental processes (republished 1986), it is made clear that sensorimotor intelligence is pre-linguistic, and as the child constructs the external world, he initially perceives objects that have substance, that are permanent and of constant dimension. This object concept is constructed gradually. Piaget writes:

> The significance of the object concept is seen in that the first knowledge of the universe or himself that the subject can acquire is knowledge relating to the most immediate appearance of things as to the most external and material aspect of his being. [Piaget 1986:355]

3.1.2 Wallace Chafe (1975)

In *Meaning and Structure of Language* (1975), Chafe presents a model for language structure analysis based on semantic units. In his discussion of idioms, he observes the overwhelming tendency of semantic units and configurations involving concrete and tangible meanings to yield idiomatic units

involving abstract and intangible meanings. In other words, concrete semantic units tend to be symbolized directly while a great many abstract units must undergo a process which he calls postsemantic literalization before they are symbolized. He says further:

> It does not seem out of line to speculate that this situation [i.e., the pattern explained above], which I suspect exists in all languages, indicates that the more recent growth of the human conceptual inventory in large part has been a matter of adding concepts that are more abstract to a basic inventory of concrete concepts. [Chafe 1975:48]

3.1.3 Stephen Wallace (1982)

Wallace, in his *Figure and Ground: The Interrelationships of Linguistic Categories*, compares the salience of different linguistic categories. In doing this, he borrows from Gestalt psychology the terms 'figure' and 'ground' and associates them with linguistic categories. He presents the following characteristics of figure and ground (Wallace 1982:214):

Figure	Ground
thing-like, solid, concrete	unformed, diffuse, shapeless, continuous, unbroken
well-defined, tightly organized	less definite, unstructured, loosely organized
contoured, surrounded,bounded, enclosed	boundless
localized	unlocalized
with distinguishable parts	without distinguishable parts
small	large
near	far
above, in front	below, behind
more impressive color	less impressive color
greater contrast	lesser contrast
stable	unstable
symmetric	irregular
'meaningful', familiar	'meaningless', unfamiliar

The categories considered by Wallace are person, number, animacy, humanness, definiteness, and the like. He mentions a number of investigators[2] who have similarly ranked these linguistic categories showing some to be more prominent than others. He says that human perceivers do not assign equal weight to all incoming sensations; but respond to some as more salient, 'which stand out distinctively' in front of a less salient ground (Wallace 1982:216).

Wallace concludes (p.215) that the present tense, referring as it does to immediate events, is more figure-like than the remote past or projected future; bounded, punctiliar perfective is more figure-like and the unbounded imperfective more ground-like; eventive modality expressing reality, actuality, and certainty is more figure-like than diffuse, boundless, unlocalized, non-eventive modality. And even though Wallace's study focuses on tense and aspect, the implications regarding the more significant effect of the physically perceived sensation is strongly indicated.

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[2] Wallace (1982) mentions Comrie's animacy hierarchy, Givón's topicality hierarchy, Hopper's agency hierarchy, and Timberlake's individuation hierarchy.

3.2 Some features of physicalism

The property of matter called impenetrability is a physical property. It is because of impenetrability that no two objects can occupy the same space. A group of two objects therefore have to be arranged sequentially or in some kind of linear formation. Even speech is in a linear order; speaking is correlated with time, which in turn is conceptualized in terms of space (Lakoff 1980). Time spent is space occupied and, in the same way, space occupied is time spent. This time-space correlate is an important feature of physicalism in expressing linearity.

This time-space concept is extended to actions, events, or abstractions in general. For example, change in space and/or time is often used as a vehicle to refer to change in life whether in status or quality but always in accordance with a certain goal. Thus, change in life when judged according to some standard can be viewed as a movement forward (in case of progress); backward or downward (in case of regression); sideways (for horizontal change as in type or classification); going in circles (to imply misguidance); or static (i.e., in one place, to mean no change whatsoever).

In a narrow and literal way, it is easy to perceive the linear movement of the actor in the scenario implied in the following sentence:

(2) KAP *manibat kang Maria linapit ya i Pedru kang* — Coming from Maria, Pedro approached Linda.
from MK Maria approached he ART Pedro to
Linda
Linda

JAP *Mariyasan kara Pedurosan wa Rindasan ni*
Maria,SUF from Pedro MK Linda,SUF MK
chikazukimashita
approached

From a point where Maria is, Pedro goes to a point where Linda is. The linear movement expressed in this sentence can be used in many ways in the language to symbolize nonliteral movement or change. It explains the linear movement in examples 3 and 4:

(3) KAP *babalik king isa*
return to one

Translated literally, example 3 means 'going back to number one'; it refers to senility. The English expression 'second childhood' is parallel to the following expression in Japanese:

(4) JAP *kodomo ni modorimasu*
child MK return

The verb *modoru* in example 4 does not involve space, as it normally does, but rather a change in the stage of one's life. The spatial idea of returning is used to express an aging process, returning to a particular stage in one's life. Lakoff (1980) calls such expressions journey metaphors and gives some examples:

(5a) We're stuck!

(5b) A long bumpy road is life.

Another feature of physicalism is observed in what Lakoff (1980) calls 'container metaphors.' In order to comment on the quantity or intensity of an abstraction, the language user pictures a hollow space with an external boundary. This space is used to measure the lack or sufficiency of a quality. For instance, in English, a joyful person can be described as being full of joy. This implies that he has

a hollow space within him and the space is filled with joy. For the space to be filled, joy is presumed to occupy space, thus possessing material qualities.

The speaker arbitrarily designates what the container holds or should hold. (It could contain any abstraction that the speaker wants to measure.) In Kapampangan, a person who is about to lose patience may say:

(6) KAP *Kinapmu ne ig asawa na* — His spouse got fed up.
filled he the spouse his

This is said of a wife who patiently bears the pain and hardships caused by her husband. But after some time, the 'container' cannot contain it any longer and the idea of being full is expressed.

A container of fulfilled obligation is expressed in the following example:

(7) KAP *kipmuan nang ima na ing kayang kakulangan* — Her mother made up for her inadequacies.
filled her mother her the her lack

This is said of a wife who does not fulfill all her obligations and therefore her mother comes to make up for her inadequacies.

The container concept is also expressed in Japanese, as in the following:

(8) JAP *shiawase ippai no kao o shite imasu* — She looks very happy.
happy full MK face MK doing

(9) JAP *atama ga tarimasen* — He is not very intelligent.
head MK lacking

In example 8, happiness is expressed as the face being full (*ippai*) of happiness. In example 9, it is the head that is treated as a container, capable of containing either sufficient mental ability or a lack of it.

Language analysis that employs the physical dimension and which supports the concept of linearity has been presented by Gruber (1965) and Jackendoff (1976) in their discussion of thematic relations. In their theory, a crucial step in moving to abstract reasoning is recognizing a particular phenomenon as an instance of generalized location. What is considered the fundamental semantic notion of the sentence is its 'theme.' In sentences with verbs of motion, 'theme' is defined as the noun phrase undergoing some form of movement. The 'source' is the theme's initial position, and 'goal' is the theme's final position. In the following example 'rock' is considered the theme. (This is similar to example 2, in which Pedru is considered the theme.)

(10) John rolled the rock from the dump to the house.

In their analysis, a change can be in terms of position, possession, or change in some sort of abstract way. Adjectives can function as abstract locations to mean 'in the abstract domain' or 'in the quality space of'. Thus 'stay' can express either a physical or an abstract location.

(11a) John stayed in the room.

(11b) John stayed angry.

The state of being angry is translated spatially as within two points in time, the point when John started being angry until the end point.

4. Systems involved

4.1 Anthropocentrism

One of the first, if not the very first, of man's earliest realizations of existence is his consciousness of his own physical body and its functions. One system by which man understands his world is in terms of how his body is structured and how he naturally functions. Man's own qualities and capabilities form the basis for the formation of meaning.

Lakoff (1980) considers expressions reflecting this tendency under the general category of personification. He says that such expressions allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms, terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics. This man-centered view is supported by the following statement from Giddens (1976:19):

> Self-knowledge is highly relevant to the interpretation of alien systems of thought and action. It is connected integrally to the understanding of others.

Douglas (1972:16) recognizes the body as a distinctive system of natural symbols. She writes:

> The body will tend to be conceived as an organ of communication. The major preoccupation will be with its functioning effectively; the relation of head to subordinate members will be a model of central control systems.

4.1.1 The body parts

The human body is used as a very common point of reference in perceiving man's physical environment, for example:

(12) 'head'

KAP	*buntuk ning paku'*	'head of a nail'
	head of nail	
JAP	*kugi no atama*	
	nail of head	

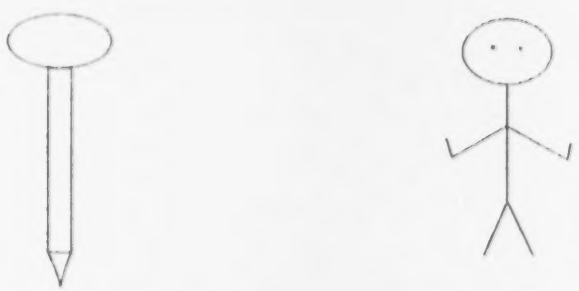

Figure 1. Visual representation of a nail and a human body.

The concept of a system with a network of parts interacting coherently can be seen in figure 1.

The flat top of a nail resembles the head of a man in the human body system. However, the flat top would not resemble a head if not for the vertical extension downward, which somehow resembles the trunk and the legs. Thus, one part by itself, in this case the flat top alone, could not systematically

represent anything; it must be one part interacting with the rest of the parts. Other features of the nail that contribute to the flat top's resemblance of a head are: the perpendicular position of the top with respect to the vertical downward extension, the length of the downward extension, and the smaller diameter of the downward extension when compared to the flat top. The coherent interaction of each part with the other or the insignificance of one component without the rest clearly shows that a composite system really exists. The following are other examples:

(13) 'eye'

KAP *mata ning bagyú* 'eye of the storm'
eye of storm

JAP *taifu no me*
typhoon of eye

(14) 'ear'

KAP *balugbug ning tasa* 'ear/handle of the cup'
ear of cup

JAP *pan no mimi* 'ear of the bread'
bread of ear

(In Japanese, the 'ear of the bread' is the dark brown outer crust of the sliced bread.)

(15) 'leg'

KAP *bitis ning silya* 'leg of the chair'
leg of chair

JAP *isu no ashi*
chair of leg

(16) 'hair'

KAP *bwak ning mais* 'hair of the corn'
hair of corn

JAP *tomorokoshi no ke*
corn of hair

(17) 'mouth'

KAP *asbuk ning boti* 'mouth of the bottle'
mouth of bottle

JAP *bin no kuchi*
bottle of mouth

(18) 'tongue'

KAP *dila ning sapatus* 'tongue/flap of the shoe'
tongue of shoe

JAP *kutsu no bero* [3]
shoe of tongue

(Example 18 refers to the shoe flap over which the shoe string is knotted. In Japanese, the undershirt that is seen from the outside is also called *bero*.)

(19) 'bone/rib'

KAP *tagyang ning payung* 'ribs/steel frame of the umbrella'
rib of umbrella

JAP *kasa no hone* 'bones/steel frame of the umbrella'
umbrella of bone

(20) 'teeth'

KAP *ipan ning sukle* 'teeth of the comb'
teeth of comb

JAP *kushi no ha*
comb of teeth

The following expressions are used in Kapampangan but not in Japanese:

(21) 'face'

KAP *lupa ning relo* 'face of the clock'
face of clock

(22) 'neck'

KAP *batal ning gripu* 'neck of the faucet'
neck of faucet

(The neck of the faucet is that part between the turning knob and the opening where the water comes out.)

(23) 'lips'

KAP *labi ning pinggan* 'lips of the plate'
lips of plate

(This refers to the edge or the outer boundary of the plate.)

(24) 'pupil'

KAP *telat'au ning mata* 'pupil of the eye'
like.person of eye

The pupil of the eye is called the 'like-person of the eye'. The pupil, which is the central and vital feature of the eye, is referred to as 'like a person', man always focusing on himself, *hitomi* in Japanese. According to the interpretation of Takao Suzuki (1970), the person is evident when he sees his image reflected in the pupil of the one he is talking to.

[3] *bero* is used informally; it is an onomatopoeic variant of *shita* 'tongue'

The following Japanese expression can be compared with Kap *buldit ning basu* 'behind of the drinking glass', which refers to the bottom part of a drinking glass and also to the sitting position, whether on a chair or any flat surface. In the Japanese example 25, reference is made to the traditional sitting position in which the hip area is prominent, for example during a tea ceremony.

(25) 'hips'

JAP	*tyawan no koshi*	'bottom part of the teacup'
	teacup of hips	

4.1.2 Body functions and actions

Body functions are processes in the body necessary for normal functioning. Body action is a broader term including body functions and also all other activities the body is capable of doing or having done to it.

Body functions and actions are grouped under the human body system. Such functions and actions can be used in comprehending and consequently labelling man's environment. Thus, in Kapampangan, one can speak of the cooking oil being asleep when it solidifies due to exposure to cold temperature:

(26) KAP *matudtud ing taba'*
sleeping the cooking.oil

In Japanese, there is a similar expression for dough left to rise in a bowl after kneading:

(27) JAP *kiji o nekasu* 'leave the dough to sleep'
dough MK asleep

Another verb that expresses this idea is *yasumaseru* 'made to rest'.

Birth is often used to express the start of a process. In both Kapampangan and Japanese the idea of love developing in a person can be expressed as love being born.

(28) KAP *mibait ing lugud karela* 'Love developed between them.'
was.born the love between.them

(29) JAP *ai ga umaremashita* 'Love developed.'
love MK was.born

The absence of separate lexical items with respect to derived interpretations is considered by some as lexical gaps, thereby implying the inadequacy of language. It is my view, however, such absence is due to the categorization process, for which language has a natural bent. Thus, the absence of a distinct term for 'develop' as in examples 28 and 29 is not considered an inadequacy because the language is able to derive the needed meaning from the process of being born. Categorization is constantly being utilized by language speakers in their unconscious effort to simplify whenever possible. By this means man identifies objects or events by their criterial attributes as he understands them from conceptual organization and classification.

The following are examples of body actions that can be used with a derived meaning:

(30) KAP *masira a lub* 'to be discouraged'
be.destroyed LK inside

JAP *ki o otosu*
heart MK drop

(31) KAP *malumud king alak* 'to become a drunkard'
be.drowned in alcohol

JAP *sake ni oboreru*
alcohol MK drown

(32) KAP *pusanan ing maragul a prublema* 'to bear a problem'
carry the big LK problem

JAP *ookina mondai o kakaeru*[4]
big problem MK embrace

4.1.3 Deixis and the speaker

Deixis is a system that relates entities to a reference point (Comrie 1985). In a broader sense, Fillmore (1966) defines it as an aspect of language whose interpretation is relative to the occasion of utterance, such as time, location of the speaker, and the identity of the speaker in relation to its intended audience.

The categories in language that need to make use of a reference point in order to be meaningful are tense, demonstratives, and pronouns. In all these categories, the speaker is the reference point. As the time of speech, which is 'now', is established, the past and the future may be located in time; as the place where the speaker is, namely 'here', is indicated, the 'there' may be known; as the speaker is designated with the 'I' pronoun, the hearer and the one spoken of many be properly identified. As the role of speaker changes in any speech situation, so the referents for the 'here, now', and 'I' also change.

A part of the lexicon that exhibits a high tendency for deixis is kinship. A table is a table to everyone, but a father can be such only to the speaker who is his offspring, whether by blood or affinity. This speaker-centered feature of deixis as a linguistic category supports the concept of anthropocentrism (a logical consequence since only man can make use of spoken language).

4.2 The sensory system

Sense perception plays a significant role in meaning derivation. Words used to describe sense perception (visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, and gustatory) can be used to describe abstract concepts such as will, determination, time, pride, disposition, values, and the like. Figure 2 shows how sensory words are classified. (Cf. figs. 3 and 4 at the end of this article in which the sensory subsystem is included.)

4.2.1 Visual

A large proportion of the sensory system words fall under 'visual'. These words are subdivided into those indicating position, direction, and composition. Position words indicate the location of an entry. Direction words indicate some movement towards a particular direction. (Location is static in contrast

[4] *kakaeru* 'to carry in one's arms or under the armpit' implies problems caused by the person's own decision Another verb, *seou* 'to carry on one's back', also means to bear problems, but with a slight difference: It implies problems caused by other people.

with direction, which is dynamic.) Composition words are descriptive in nature, focusing on qualitative content.

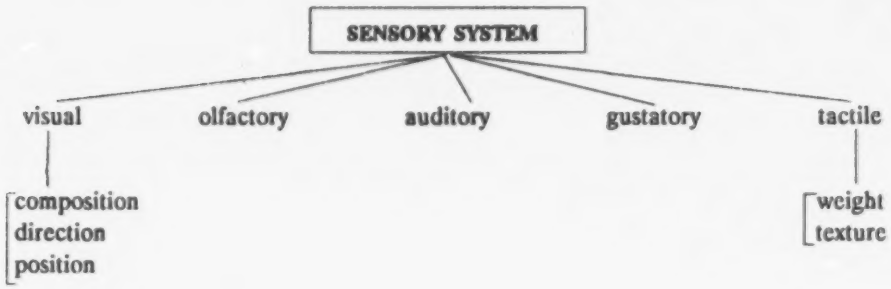

Figure 2. Classification of words in the sensory system.

Examples of position words:

(33) KAP *malalam a kapampangan* 'Kapampangan that is difficult to understand.'
deep LK kapampangan

JAP *kotoba no imi ga fukai* 'word with many (possible) meanings'
word of meaning MK deep

(34) KAP *matulid a gawa'* 'righteous in one's actions'
straight MK actions

JAP *seikaku ga massugu* 'righteous in one's actions'
character MK straight

(35) KAP *mababo a kabaldugan* 'simple meaning'
shallow LK meaning

JAP *anohito wa kan-gae ga asai* 'That person is simple-minded.'
that person MK thought MK swallow

(36) KAP *malapit a lub* 'amiable, friendly'
near LK inside

JAP *kimochi ga chikai* 'amiable, friendly'
feeling MK near

(37) KAP *mababa ing maleldo*
low the holy.week
'Holy Week[5] is early in the year's calendar.'

Examples of direction words:

(38) KAP *babalik king isa'*
returning to one
'becoming senile'

JAP *kodomo ni modoru*
child MK return
'to become senile'

(39) KAP *manabu king kasalanan*
to.fall to sin
'to commit sin'

JAP *tsumi ni ochiru*
sin MK drop
'to fall into sin'

(40) KAP *mitauli king byai*
be.late for trip
'to become an old maid'

JAP *oyomeni ikiokuremasu*
bride be.late
'(for a woman) to stay single'

(41) KAP *lalakad ing oras*
walking the time
'time passes'

JAP *jikan ga toorisugimasu*
time MK passes
'time passes'

Examples of composition words:

(42) KAP *matuling a kalulwa*
black LK soul
'an evil person'

JAP *hara ga kuroi*
stomach MK black
'an evil person'

(43) KAP *babai*
woman
'mistress of a married man'

JAP *onna*
woman
'mistress of a married man'

(44) KAP *pamisanmetung*
oneness
'unity'

[5] Holy Week in the religious calendar of the Catholics has a movable date. When it is in early March, it is described as *mababa* 'low'; and when it is in middle or late April, it is *matas* 'high'.

JAP *hitotsu ni naru* 'to be united into one'
one MK become

(45) KAP *paralan* 'method'
road

JAP *michi* 'one method, one way'
road

(46) JAP *kao ga aozameru* 'to become pale in the face'
face MK become.blue

4.2.2 Olfactory

(47) KAP *mabuluk a istorya* 'unpleasant story'
ill.smelling LK story

JAP *kusai hanashi* 'suspicious kind of story'
ill.smelling story

4.2.3 Auditory

(48) KAP *masigla a anak* 'jolly child'
noisy LK child

4.2.4 Gustatory

(49) KAP *mayumu a lawe* 'a glance showing affection'
sweet LK glance

JAP *amai kao o shite imasu* 'showing fondness for someone'
sweet face MK being

4.2.5 Tactile

Tactile words are subdivided into those indicating texture and those indicating weight. Examples of texture words:

(50) KAP *masyas a lupa* 'someone projecting an impersonal character'
hard LK face

JAP *hyoojoo ga katai* 'someone finding himself in an unpleasant situation'
expression MK hard

(51) KAP *marimla ya kanaku* 'He seems unfriendly to me.'
cold he to.me

JAP *anohito ga tsumetai kao o shite imasu* 'That person seems unfriendly.'
that.person MK cold face MK being

Examples of tactile words:

(52)	KAP	*mabayat a prublema* heavy LK problem	'a serious problem'
	JAP	*byooki ga omoi* illness MK heavy	'an illness is serious'
(53)	KAP	*mayan a gamat* light LK hand	'light-handed (said of a doctor who is very careful not to cause the patient any pain)'
	JAP	*anohito wa karui hito desu* that.person MK light person COP	'That person is not serious about anything.'
(54)	JAP	*kega ga karui* injury MK light	'slight in injury'

Some very interesting inferences can be made from a lexical analysis of expressions under the sensory system, both in Kapampangan and Japanese:

(a) The moral qualities of a person can be distinguished by the use of colors, for example, Kap *maputi (a kalulwa)* 'white soul; morally good' and *matuling (a kalulwa)* 'black soul; morally bad'. In Japanese, the latter idea is expressed as *hara ga kuroi* 'stomach is black; morally bad'.

(b) The complexity of a subject matter can be described in terms of depth, for example, Kap *malalam* 'deep; difficult to understand' and *mababo* 'shallow; superficial in treatment'. In Japanese, *kotoba no imi ga fukai, fukai* means 'having many meanings'.

(c) Familiarity can be distinguished in terms of distance, for example, Kap *marayu'* far; indifferent' and *malapit* 'near; friendly'. In Japanese, *chikai* 'near' and *tooi* 'far' can be used similarly, as in *kimochi ga chikai* 'close feeling; familiar feeling'.

(d) Righteousness is pictured linearly as in *matulid* 'straight; doing the right thing.' In Japanese, this idea is expressed in *seikaku ga massugu* 'living a righteous life'.

(e) The extent of how far an activity is completed can be viewed as 'full' or 'lacking': *kapmuan* 'to fill up; to make up for some inadequacy'. In Japanese, a similar expression is *kare wa atama ga tarimasen* 'he is not too smart'.

(f) Behavior may be viewed in terms of texture as in *magaspang* 'rough to touch; unrefined manners' and *mapinu* 'smooth to touch; refined'. In Japanese, the similar expression is *anohito wa kime ga komakai* 'the texture of that man is fine; that man has refined manners'. Another example is *monogoshi ga yawarakai* 'soft movements; with refined manners'.

(g) The effect of strain on a person can be described as either 'heavy' (Kap *mabayat*; Jap *omoi*) or 'light' (Kap *mayan*; Jap *karui*). Kapampangan examples using *mabayat* are *mabayat a prublema* 'heavy problem; serious problem', *mabayat a sakit* 'heavy illness; serious illness', and *mabayat a parusa* 'heavy punishment; intense punishment'. Some Japanese examples of *omoi* and *karui* are *kega ga karui* 'injury is light; slightly injured'; *ongaku ga karui* 'light music; relaxing music'; *anohito wa karui hito desu* 'that person is light; that person is not serious about anything'.

An interesting point of contrast between Kapampangan and Japanese is the change in the system or subsystem used in expressing one particular meaning. For example, to express the idea of disappointment, Kapampangan uses the gustatory subsystem in the expression *maslam a lupa* 'sour face; face showing disappointment', while Japanese uses the visual (composition) in the expression *kao ga aozameru* 'face is pale blue; face shows disappointment'. Other examples:

(55) JAP *amai kao o suru*
sweet face MK be
'cute face (as when talking to a child)'

(56) JAP *amai kao o shite iru*
sweet face MK being
'showing fondness for someone'

In example 57, the gustatory subsystem is used for Kapampangan whereas the tactile is used for Japanese:

(57) KAP *matabang a lub*
bland LK inside
'feeling lazy, unmotivated'

JAP *ki ga omoi*
feeling MK heavy
'feeling lazy, unmotivated'

Committing bad deeds is expressed in Kapampangan as a vertical downward movement, whereas in Japanese it is expressed as a process of entering a place:

(58) KAP *manabu king kasalanan*
fall into sin
'to commit sin'

JAP *akuji ni hairi komu*
bad.deeds MK enter
'to do bad deeds'

To express moral integrity, especially for a woman, Kapampangan uses the visual subsystem, whereas Japanese uses the tactile:

(59) KAP *malinis a babai*
clean LK woman
'moral woman'

JAP *katai hito*
hard person
'moral person'

To summarize the use of physical features to express something not necessarily physical, the following is a list of abstractions given a physicalist expression:

moral quality	connoted by	color
complexity	connoted by	depth
familiarity	connoted by	distance from the self
righteousness	connoted by	linear characterization
behavior	connoted by	texture
effect of strain	connoted by	weight

The interesting question at this point is how such physical descriptions have come to be associated with such abstractions. For example, how did Kap *mabayat* and Jap *omoi* in example 52 come to mean 'serious' (as in serious illness or serious problem)? In a discussion by Wittgenstein (1973) on pictorial form, he says:

> We picture facts to ourselves. A picture presents a situation in logical space, the existence and nonexistence of states of affairs.
> A picture is a fact. The fact that the elements of a picture are related to one another in a determinate way represents that things are related to one another in the same way.

The use of the term 'picture' strongly indicates the tendency to visualize facts as though they are concrete entities with shape and form. The elements are given physical attributes with their relationships corresponding in a systematic way consistent to the assumed physical attributes. Thus *mabayat* or *omoi* is used to describe the strain or burden on a person's mental or psychological condition in the same way that carrying a heavy load is a strain on a person's physical strength.

However, what cannot be explained in a logical way is why the category of weight came to refer to the severity of an illness or a problem. This question has similarly been raised in the analysis of the eminence of the right hand. Hertz (1978) shows the inadequacy of the anatomical reason as an explanation. He concludes that there should be a compatibility between the physical and social aspects to explain the behavior of the human body. For this reason, conventions based on behavioral patterns are considered culture specific; for though they can sometimes be explained on the basis of pragmatic value, in other cases they cannot.

4.3 The plant life system

Since plants exist in the immediate environment of both Kapampangan and Japanese speakers, it is not surprising that plant life is used in meaning derivation. For example, the idea of a 'fruit' in reference to the result of an action or effort is common:

(60) KAP	*mamungang mayap*		'to have a good result'
	bear.fruit good		
JAP	*kare no doryoku ga minoru*		'his efforts bear fruit'
	his MK effort MK bear.fruit		

The word 'root,' the source of the life of a plant, is used to mean the origin of a particular quality:

(61) KAP	*nung nanu ya ing yamut ya ing bunga*	Referring to the similarity between a child and his parents.
	if what it the root it the fruit	
JAP	*ne ga fukai*	Referring to the complexity of a problem.
	root MK deep	

A person's place of origin may be indicated by likening it to the early stage of a plant growing in a particular place:

(62) KAP	*tubu Menila'*	'someone originally from Manila'
	sprout Manila	
JAP	*Hokkaido no de desu*	'someone originally from Hokkaido'
	Hoddaido MK dome out	
(63) JAP	*me ga deru*	Said of a persons developing qualities, which are likened to the sprouting of a new plant.
	sprout MK come out	
(64) JAP	*ii tane o maku*	'to do good with the expectation of gaining something beneficial in return'
	good seed MK sow	

In Kapampangan, words may show the correspondence between the plant life system and the human body system by describing the agricultural event in human terms:

(65) KAP *mabuktut ing pale*
pregnant the rice.plant
'The rice plant is in fruit (is ready for harvest).'

The stage of bearing the fruit is likened to being pregnant in example 65. Prior to that stage, when the seeds are not yet ripe, one can say:

(66) KAP *e pa mibait*
not yet born
'(the rice is) not yet ripe for picking'

The following is another example of plant life being described in terms of human behavior: *mala-marine*, a kind of grass that folds up its leaves when touched, is said to be *marine* 'being shy', literally 'to be ashamed'.

4.4 The family system

The concept of family can be extended to describe a corresponding relationship. In a literal family, a number of criteria are used to identify family members, for example, physical appearance, age, and size. These features inspire extended meanings applied to other systems, conveying the idea of relatedness. For example, in the classification of languages the concept of family has been very useful; terms such as 'mother language' and 'sister language' are used. (It is difficult to explain why only female kin terms are used when referring to language.)

In Kapampangan, reference to the family system is made when one describes the relationship between the Philippine fruits *guyabano* and *atis* as cousins since, in spite of their differences in size and taste, their common structure of many seeds and their arrangement attest to their close relationship. The same is said of citrus fruits like the orange, grapefruit, and the Japanese *mikan*, which are different from each other but also share many features in common.

The family system in Japanese is very important as is evident in the number of expressions that make use of it. The *oyabun-kobun* relationship in a company is a perfect example. In this vertical stratification, the superior is perceived as a father or parent while the junior employee is considered the child of the family. Chie Nakane (1970) explains that such a relationship is characterized by specific roles and responsibilities from each member just as in a family. Other examples in Japanese are:

(67) JAP *take no ko*
bamboo of child
'bamboo shoots'

(68) JAP *tarako*
fish.child
'egg of cod (a species of fish'

(69) *ki no ko*
tree of child
'mushroom'

(70) *shimai toshi*
sister city
'a city with which another city establishes close ties in the form of cultural and commercial exchange'

(71) *shimai sen*
sister ship
'a ship that shares some similarities with another ship, such as a common owner or similar structural features'

(72)	*bosen* mother.ship	'the biggest ship in a group of fishing boats; the ship that hauls in the big catch and where initial processing is done'
(73)	*okayu no obaasan* porridge of grandmother	'porridge cooked with less water than usual, making the rice harder in texture'
(74)	*boko* mother.school	'alma mater; school from which one graduates'
(75)	*oya yubi* parent finger	'thumb'
	ko yubi child finger	'little finger'

4.5 Other possible systems

In both Kapampangan and Japanese, the day cycle system can be used to refer to the stages of a person's life. This is done in everyday language and even more so in literary expression. Thus, the rising of the sun is likened to a person's birth or early stages of his life. Noon corresponds to the peak of one's life, a stage of intense activity and vigor when vital decisions are made. In Kapampangan, the word is *kapalipaliyan*, derived from *pali* 'heat' and morphologically modified to mean 'in its hottest stage'. To refer to the peak of a party or a day's activities, one can say:

(76) KAP	*kapalipaliyan na ning parti anyang dinatang ya* hottest it of party when came he	The party was at its peak when he came.

The years of old age and subsequent death are likened to the setting of the sun.

There is no limit to the number of systems a person can use to derive meanings. Such use of a system may be generally understood or it may be one individual's usage only. In the latter case, an explanation from him may be necessary. Most systems used in this way are a part of the cultural milieu: the seasons, houses, modes of dressing, and the like.

For a Kapampangan speaker, aspects of the Christian religion are often used as a basis for derived expressions:

(77) KAP	*iyan ing pupusanan nang krus* that the carrying pr,LK cross	'That is the cross she carries.'
(78) KAP	*i Karlos pala ing ubingan* ART Carlos PA the snake	'Carlos is the traitor.'

The deceptive, cunning snake in the garden of Eden refers to a traitor or pretentious villain.

In Japanese, Buddhism and the traditional kimono are used as a basis for meaning derivation, for example:

(79) JAP	*Nyorai no kin-gen* god of golden.words	'words of truth from a god'

(Nyorai is a high-ranking deity in Buddhism.) The reference is to someone speaking with wisdom, saying what is generally accepted as true.

The left and right side extensions of a building, extending downward from a higher level are called *sode* in Japanese, *sode* being the vertical extended part of the sleeves in the kimono. In English, these parts of the building are called 'wings', with reference to bird wings.

To express inappropriateness, Japanese may use the following analogy: too short to serve as a sash (in a kimono), too long to serve as a cord (used by workers or warriors dressed in the traditional kimono to tie up the wide sleeves, which would give the arms and hand unimpeded movement).

(80) JAP	*obi ni mijikashi tasuki ni nagashi*		'too short for a sash, too long for a cord'
	sash MK short	cord MK long	

5. Grammatical features that support the Systems Correspondence Theory

In sections 1-4, the application of the Systems Correspondence Theory was focused on the lexical features of Kapampangan and Japanese. In this section, certain grammatical features of Japanese that support the SCT will be considered. (A linguistic feature is said to be grammatical if its recurrence is relevant to the pattern of usage and not so much to its individual occurrence.) All the examples cited in this section are Japanese.

5.1 Classifiers

A classifier is a syntactic or grammatical feature wherein nouns are grouped together and marked according to a certain feature shared by them.

In Japanese, the use of classifiers, although this is apparently a borrowing from Chinese, is one kind of evidence supporting the significance of physical features in grouping or classifying a collection of nouns. Thus, tall thin objects are counted with the classifier *-hon*, those that come in pairs with *-soku*, animals with *-hiki*, food or drink in cups with *-hai*, and so on. The importance given to perceivable features is obvious when there is a shift in the choice of classifier for the same object presented in a different fashion. For example, beer in a bottle will be counted *ippong*[6] 'one', *nihon* 'two'; but beer in a drinking cup will be *ippai*[7] 'one', *nihai* 'two'. It is obvious that the liquid object is classified according to the shape of its container. In the same way, medicine that comes in the form of pills is counted with the classifier *tsubu*, but bottled syrup is counted with *-hon*, the bottle being perceived as long. The elongated banana is counted with *-hon*, but the apple is counted with *-ko*, the classifier for spherical, small objects, such as certain fruits.

My thesis is further supported by the fact that no recurrent classifier is used with abstract nouns since no physical feature can be used as a basis for classification. Examples 81-83 do not use any classifier:

(81) JAP	*hitotsu no kan-gae*	'one thought; one idea'
	one MK thought	
(82)	*ichian*	'one suggestion'
	one.suggestion	
(83)	*itten*	'one point'
	one.point	

[6] In *ippon*, the classifier is changed to *-pon*, which is an allomorph of *-hon*.

[7] In *appai*, the classifier is changed to *-pai*, which is an allomorph of *-hai*.

5.2 *tokoro*

In the following examples, *tokoro* means 'place':

(84) *kado o magatta tokoro ni* — There is a bookstore at the turn of the corner.
corner MK turn place MK
hon-ya ga arimasu
bookstore MK there

In examples 85a-e, however, *tokoro* expresses a state, a point in time, or a moment, instead of a physical location.

(85a) *ima dekakeru tokoro desu* — I am just (now) going to go out.
now go.out place COP

(85b) *ima benkyoo shite iru tokoro desu* — I am studying now.
now study doing place COP

(85c) *kyoo benkyoo shite ita* — I was studying when my friend came.
today was.studying
tokoro ni tomodachi ga kita
place MK friend MK came

(85d) *isogashii tokoro desu* — I am busy.
busy place COP

(85e) *okita tokoro desu* — I just got up (from bed).
got.up place COP

The foregoing examples show the close correlation between time and space as explained earlier (sec. 3.2). The usual meaning of *tokoro* 'place' is translated into time as one travels the space from the starting point to the end point of one activity or state.

5.3 Direction on compound verbs with *kuru* and *iku*

One syntactic feature peculiar to Japanese is the occurrence of compound verbs. In consonance with the thesis of this article, the compound verbs considered here are limited to those whose second member is either *kuru* or *iku*. These two verbs were chosen because of their directional meaning, which extends to nonliteral application. Two other verbs of a similar nature are *oku* and *komu*, which the writer reserves for future study.

The directional meaning of *kuru* and *iku* can be considered under the deictic category of language. The reference point is the speaker. Everything towards the direction of the speaker will be labelled by him as *kuru*; away from him is *iku*.

The literal meaning of coming and going is used in the following:

(86a) *mite kimashita* (*kuru*) — 'came to see'
see came

(86b) *motte kimasu* (*kuru*) — 'bring'
bring come

(86c) *motte ikimasu* (*iku*) 'take'
bring go

(86d) *aruite ikimasu* (*iku*) 'go walking'
walk go

The idea of coming and going with the speaker as referent may be extended to express aspect in the realm of experience. Generally, the perfective aspect is indicated by *kuru* and the imperfective by *iku*. An action or experience is said to be completed when it reaches the speaker, here considered the goal. The speaker as the source of an action or experience indicates an uncompleted state. The experience of becoming or having become is aspectually qualified with the use of these two verbs.

(87a) *atsuku natte kimashita ne* (*kuru*) It became hot.
hot,SUF become came PA

(87b) *atsuku natte ikimasu* (*iku*) It will become hot.
hot,SUF become hot

(87c) *eiga ga sukini natte kimashita* (*kuru*) I developed a liking for movies.
movie MK like,PA become came

(87d) *eiga ga korekara omoshiroku* Starting from this part, the movie will become interesting.
movie MK this.from interesting,SUF
natte ikimasu (*iku*)
become go

In contrast, the single verb *naru* implies an objective natural result of becoming from one state to another. In examples 88a and 88b the normal pattern of changes in the season account for the result of 'becoming hot':

(88a) *atsuku narimashita* It became hot.
hot,SUF became

(88b) *atsuku naru desyoo* I suppose it will become hot.
hot,SUF become

In the compound verbs of examples 87a-d, however, the image of a gradual process of becoming, or having resulted from something, becomes vivid while maintaining a distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspect.

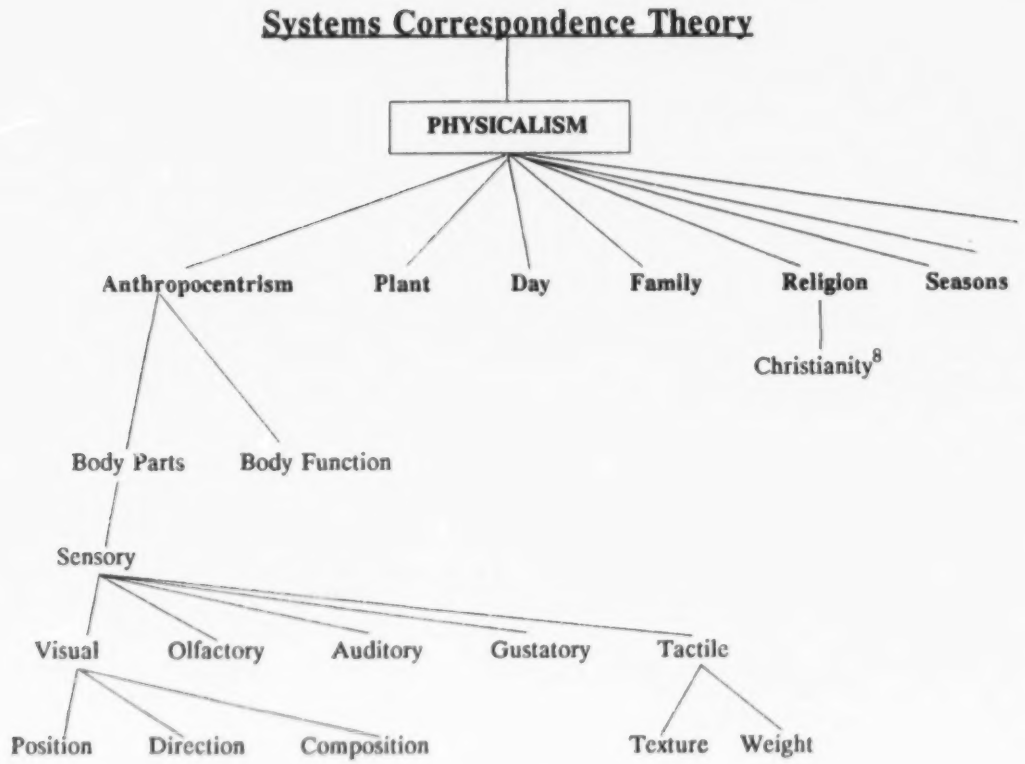

Fig. 3. A visual representation of the Systems Correspondence Theory based on Kapampangan.

[8] Christianity is not the only religion known to a Kapampangan speaker. It is represented in the diagram for the sake of comparison with Buddhism. For the same reason, in figure 4 'winter' is listed under 'seasons' for the SCT based on Japanese. Note that the unlabeled lines in figures 3 and 4 represent the other possible systems that comprise a person's conceptual repertoire.

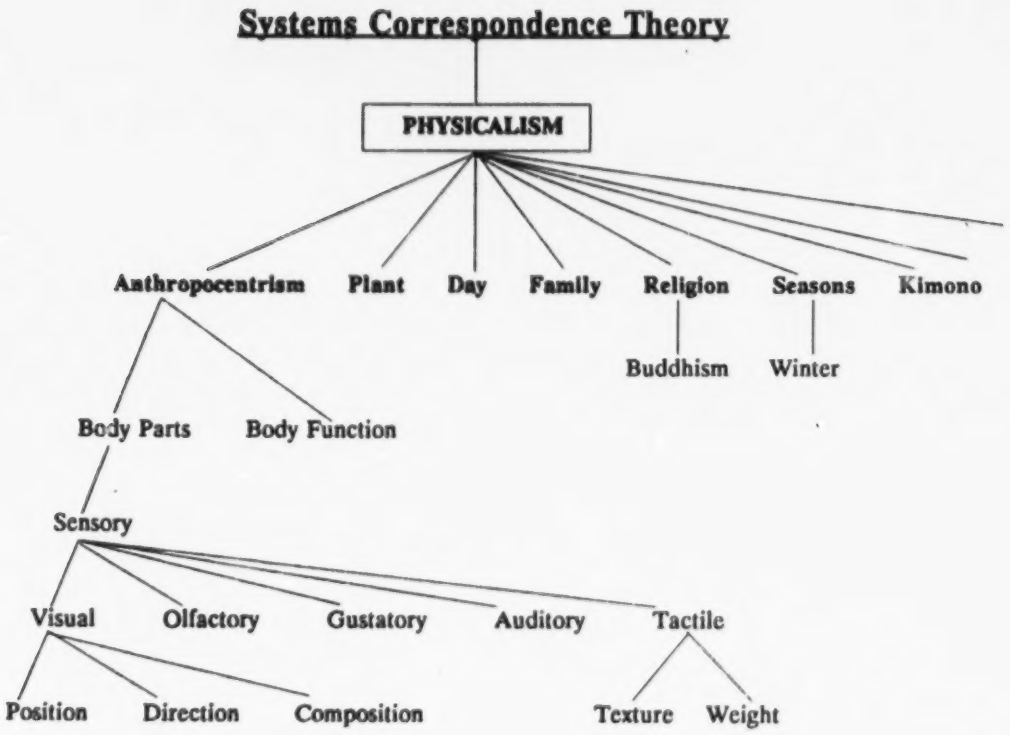

Fig. 4. A visual representation of the Systems Correspondence Theory based on Japanese.

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Some Functions of Direct Quotes in Tagabawa Narrative Discourse

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0. Introduction
1. Position of quotes in narrative texts
2. Functions of direct quotes
2.1 Quotes foreground key actions
2.2 Quotes foreground reasons
2.3 Quotes foreground themes
2.4 Quotes mark main participants
3. Conclusion

0. Introduction

This article addresses some of the functions of direct quotes in narrative discourse of Tagabawa.[1] In discussions of the structure of narrative discourse, information found in a narrative text is divided into two categories: events and nonevents. Events occur in clauses in nuclear and non-nuclear positions within sentences. Dependent clauses are found in non-nuclear sentence positions; independent clauses are found in nuclear sentence positions. Events that occur in nuclear independent clauses form the backbone of narrative discourse. Nonevents and events that do not occur in nuclear independent clauses support the events that make up the narrative backbone, but they are not necessarily part of the backbone itself (Grimes 1975, chaps. 3 and 4).

Quotations have been categorized in different ways in regard to this distinction between events and nonevents. Grimes (1975:69-70) analyzes the quote verb 'say' as being an event on the backbone of discourse (he said, he asked, he murmured). The actual content of the quote is analyzed as being a nonevent, or a supporting event, that is not part of the backbone. In example 1, the quote verb is the event on the backbone; the quote content is a supporting event off the backbone.

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[1] Tagabawa is a language of the Philippines spoken by approximately 30,000 people living in southern Mindanao. The language area extends around the southern slopes of Mt. Apo into two provinces, Davao del Sur and Cotabato.

The language is classified as belonging to the Manobo language family. The Tagabawas, however, do not identify themselves as belonging to the Manobo language or culture; they regard their language as one of two dialects of Bagobo. The second dialect is Diangan (Jangan, Giangan, Guanga, Gulanga being alternate spellings found in the literature).

The data were collected by Carl and Lauretta DuBois in the community of Malasila in Makilala, Cotabato, from January to July 1987, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Acknowledgment is due Mr. Gregorio Ambat, Mrs. Melania Awe, Datu Bulatukan Lambac, Miss Piligrina Lambac, and Mr. Umanan Lambac for texts they contributed.

The analysis of the data was done during a workshop on discourse at Bagabag, Nueva Viscaya, held by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in September and October 1987 under the direction of Michael R. Walrod.

(1) quote verb quote
John said, "He isn't in the house."

Other linguists, however, suggest that direct quotes are main events on the backbone. Larson (1978:185) maintains that some texts would be reduced to two or three main events if only independent clauses were considered the backbone of discourse. She further points out (1978:240) that direct quotes often carry information pertinent to the backbone of the text and are not supportive material.

Shetler and Walrod (1983:23) observe for Balangao that the event line is central to the development of the backbone of narrative discourse. They also suggest that information contained in a direct quote occurs on the backbone. The quote verb 'say' is an event, and the content of the quote is included in that event. They point out that the content may refer to other events which are not overtly mentioned elsewhere in the text, but which are main events of the discourse. They stress that to omit the quote content can result in an unintelligible abstract of the story.

In the analysis of the direct quotes in Tagabawa narrative discourse,[2] the following four questions were asked in order to discover the functions of direct quotes: Where do direct quotes occur in the text? What kinds of information are contained in direct quotes? Who can utter direct quotes? Is the information contained in direct quotes stated elsewhere in the text?

As these questions were explored, it became clear that direct quotes perform four functions in Tagabawa narrative discourse. First, direct quotes foreground key actions on the backbone. Second, they foreground reasons that support key actions and themes. Third, they foreground themes. Fourth, they mark main participants. The analysis also reveals that these four functions correlate with specific locations in a narrative text, namely, prepeak, peak, and postpeak.

1. Position of quotes in narrative texts

There are three basic positions in narrative texts: prepeak, peak, postpeak. The prepeak position includes setting information, and events that get the action moving and develop the conflict of the story. The peak position contains the climax of the story. The postpeak position includes events that lead to the resolution and conclusion of the story (Longacre 1983:20-25).

As has been mentioned, the functions of direct quotes correlate with their positions in a text. The number of direct quotes found in each text position is in proportion to the number of sentences that occur in the text position. The prepeak position of a text tends to have the greatest number of sentences. The postpeak position has fewer sentences than the prepeak position. The peak position has the least number of sentences of all the positions. Consequently, the greatest number of direct quotes is found in the prepeak position (twenty-eight out of fifty-one occurrences). Fewer direct quotes are found in the postpeak position (sixteen out of fifty-one occurrences). The least number of quotes is found in the peak position (seven out of fifty-one occurrences).

2. Functions of direct quotes

Two of the functions of direct quotes are tightly connected with a third function. Quotes that foreground key actions and quotes that foreground themes can also foreground reasons that support those actions and themes. This supportive function seems to be the primary purpose for including reasons in quotes. While some quotes act only to foreground key actions, many quotes foreground both key actions and their supporting reasons. (In the available data twenty-three quotes foreground a key action; twenty quotes foreground both a key action and its supporting reason. There are no examples of quotes that foreground only reasons or themes.) The following discussion describes each of the

[2] Narrative discourse texts used for this study include personal experience stories and folktales.

functions of quotes separately and then examines examples in which direct quotes perform more than one function.

2.1. Quotes foreground key actions

The main function of direct quotes in narrative discourse is to foreground key actions on the backbone (forty-four out of fifty-one direct quotes). As has been noted, events in nuclear sentence positions make up the backbone of a narrative text; however, not every event on the backbone is equally important to the plot of the story. Some events are more important than others in that they are in some way pivotal to the development of the plot.

These pivotal events, or key actions, are foregrounded by direct quotes that present the action in the content of the quote. The action is stated again in a declarative clause or sentence that either precedes or follows the direct quote. The action is highlighted by the use of the direct quote, which is a marked construction in narrative discourse. (Quotes are marked constructions in the sense that most sentences in narrative discourse are declarative sentences. Direct quotes occur less commonly and are, therefore, considered marked constructions.) The key action is also highlighted by the repeated statement of the action, once in the direct quote and once in the declarative statement.

Quotes can simply foreground key actions on the backbone. This function occurs most often in prepeak positions of texts. Quotes functioning in this way can also mark key actions in postpeak positions. It should be noted, however, that in the two texts containing quotes in the postpeak position, the postpeak position is actually composed of a minor episode. Within this postpeak episode, the quote occurs in the prepeak position.

The first example in which quotes foreground actions comes from a narrative text about a trading trip to the town of Tagum. The participants begin their trip with hopes of making money, but as it turns out, they end up losing money instead. Example 2 occurs in the prepeak position of the text. In this example, the key action, going to Tagum, is first presented in a declarative sentence and then is repeated in a quote in the next sentence. Sentence 2a presents the first event in the text in a declarative sentence. The event is repeated in another declarative clause in the first part of sentence 2b. It is repeated again in a quote given in the last part of sentence 2b.

(2a)	*Igpano a takod dini, igsadon key diyan et Tagum.* hiked I from here went we to Tagum.	When I departed from here, we went to Tagum.
(2b)	*Tekkes a kato' sebbad amigo ko so ma' din, "Madon ki* accompanied I one friend my for said he will.go we *diyan so mamasak ki ka salapi' doton ta pamolawan."* to for will.look.for we money at where.gold.is.found *eskandin ak banowa doton ta pabongan ak Lowayan na* he place at mountain Lowayan now *mineymo.* possible	I accompanied a friend of mine, because he said, "Let's go there because we will look for money at the gold diggings."

The next example is taken from a folktale called "The Dirty Child." The story is about an unruly little boy who runs away from home and has a series of adventures. Each adventure forms a separate episode in the story.

The sentences in example 3 are found in the postpeak position of the text. It should be noted, however, that the postpeak section of the text is actually composed of another episode. Example 3 occurs in the prepeak section of the episode. In this example, the key action is first stated in a quote and then repeated in a declarative sentence that follows. In this episode, the dirty child, who has now

(3a) *Na enda so doton den ta madiyo' migkita din to' banowa,*
now where for at already far found he place
na madigel.
now good
Now when he was far away, he saw a place that was good.

(3b) *Na ma' din tekko' eskandin mikapangadoy, na ma' din,*
now said he suddenly he sighed now said he
"Mola' ped ka kannon ey banowa imowan ko."
will.wish fain here place will.make my
Then he sighed suddenly, saying, "It would be wonderful if I were to make this place mine."

(3c) *Mimo eskandin ak banowa doton ta pabongan ak Lowayan*
will.make he place at mountain Lowayan
na mineymo.
now possible
He would make a place on the mountain of Lowayan, then he was able to do it.

Quotes can also foreground key actions by foretelling major events that are to come in the narrative. Example 4 is taken from a text about how people learned midwifery. The text tells about a man named Paliman who came to a village governed by Datu Basagan. During his stay in the village, Paliman taught the people midwifery. The following dialogue between Paliman and Basagan foretells two major events in the text: (1) the safe delivery of a child by natural childbirth, and (2) the gift-giving celebration at the end of the story. These events form two episodes in the story, each consisting of several paragraphs.

The dialogue in example 4 takes place one morning when Paliman asks Basagan why everyone is crying. Basagan explains that they are crying because his daughter is in labor and about to deliver her first child. Since the custom is to deliver a baby by cutting open the woman's abdomen, the woman always dies. Consequently, the people were mourning for Basagan's daughter who is going to die.

In sentence 4a, Paliman hints that he can help deliver the child. In sentence 4b, Basagan tells Paliman that he will give him any reward he asks for if Paliman will only save his daughter.

(4a) *Igkagi si Paliman, "Iya' ko egrano asta egseggo, so ago*
said Paliman do.not you be.sad and be.crying for maybe
makatabang a kanan bata' yu bayi."
able.to.help I that child your female
Paliman said, "Do not be sad and cry because perhaps I can help this daughter of yours."

(4b) *Na igkagi si Basagan, "Atin makatabang ka kani bata' ko,*
now said Basagan if able.to.help you this child my
beggeyn ko ak niko agad endin to' pamoyo'en nu."
will.be.given I you even what will.be.asked.for you
Basagan said, "If you are able to help this child of mine, I will give you whatever you ask for."

(4c) *"Di' ki patongko'ey tingod kanan."*
will.not we reciprocally.converse about that
"Let us not talk about that."

(4d) *"Di' a egpamoyo' agad endin."*
will.not I ask.for even what
"I will ask for nothing whatever."

(4e) *"To' ded ginawa nu dini kanak to' ganatan ko," ma' i*
only love your here me will.wait.for I said
Paliman.
Paliman.
"I will just wait for your love gift to me," said Paliman.

The rest of the story develops around the two events referred to in this dialogue. As the story continues, Paliman safely delivers the child and saves the life of Basagan's daughter. In return, Basagan and his followers give a lavish celebration to honor Paliman for his help.

There is an interesting variation of this function of foretelling upcoming key events. In certain texts, direct quotes in the prepeak position give a warning directed to the main participant. The warning sets up a point of tension that becomes a pivotal element in the development of the plot. This function can be seen most easily in two folktales.

The first folktale is the one about the dirty child. In the story, the little boy has run away from home. While he is walking in the forest, he encounters two large snakes. The snakes give the boy certain instructions for his journey. They include in their instructions a warning to the boy not to answer anyone who speaks to him.

(5) *Pero bago to' enda' pa eskandan kamatey igpanalan*
but before not yet they died spoke.dying.words
din, ma' din, "Atig pano ka takod kannon, iya' ka man
he said he if hike you from here do.not you indeed
o agad sadan ey egtawar o greggeng ak niko na iya' ka"
or even who calls or converses you now do.not you
ma' din, "egtaba so atin tomaba ka na kantosan nu,
said he answer for if will.answer you now will.suffer you
na kahirapan ka."
now will.have.difficulty you

But before they [the snakes] died, its dying words were, "When you leave here, no matter who calls or speaks to you, do not answer him because if you answer, you will suffer and have great difficulty."

The warning becomes the focus of a series of tests for the boy. Each test forms a separate episode in the story. After leaving the snakes, the boy meets a dalomey tree on the path. The dalomey tree speaks to the boy, asking him a question. The direct question creates a test for the boy. Will he obey the snakes' warning and refuse to answer? Unfortunately the boy is prone to disobedience and has a short memory as well. He disregards the snakes' warning, answers the tree, and is immediately engulfed by it. As it turns out, however, the boy is able to escape and continues on his way.

(6a) *Enda so doton ta ogpo ak dalan, tekko' to' kayo dalomey*
where for at part path suddenly tree dalomey
miginsa' ka bata', "Manda ka salo, to' ya' bata' bolingen
asked child where you will.go that child dirty
malandeg ey kiley'?"
slippery eyebrow

When he was following the path, suddenly the dalomey tree asked the child, "Where are you going, dirty child with the slippery eyebrow?"

(6b) *Enda' mikapettod to' bata', enda' din kasampetti, milingawan*
not able.to.control child not he reminisce forgot
din to' panalan kato' eppoy.
he dying.words snake

The child could not control himself; he did not remember; he forgot the snakes dying words.

(6c) *Tigko' eskandin migtaba.*
immediately he answered

He answered immediately.

The tree episode is followed by another episode that consists of a nearly identical series of events. In this episode, the boy comes to a lake and encounters a lake fairy. The lake fairy asks the boy a question which again is given in a direct quote. As in the earlier episode, the little boy fails to heed

the snakes' warning. As soon as he answers the lake fairy, the lake begins to suck him into the water, but once again he manages to escape. The story continues to a happy conclusion.

(7a) *Na takod den poman doton, to' bata' bolingen igpano.*
now from already again at child dirty hiked
Now, from there the child walked on again.

(7b) *Na enda so igdonggo' den poman doton ta madiyo' ·*
now where for arrived already again at far
den, tekko' poman igkagi to' biya' et gamo-gamo, ma' din,
already suddenly again said fairy lake said she
"Manda ka salo ey pangilinan malandeg ey kirey?"
where you will.go little.boy slippery eyebrow
When he was already far away, again suddenly a fairy of the lake said to him, "Where are you going, little boy with the slippery eyebrow?"

(7c) *Tigko' poman milingawan kato' bata' to'*
immediately again forgot child
migpanalan kandin, na mikataba eskandin.
spoken.dying.words him now answered he
Immediately that child forgot the dying words spoken to him, and he answered.

In each of the episodes, the test is instigated by a question that is stated in a direct quote. In the episodes, the quote differs from other direct quotes in prepeak positions in that it does not state a key action. Instead it triggers a key action that becomes the peak of the episode. In the first episode, the boy answers, and the tree engulfs him. In the second episode, the boy answers, and the lake begins to suck him into the water. It is significant that the question is the only direct quote in each episode. It might be expected that the boy's answer would be given as a direct quote, but instead it is simply noted in a declarative sentence that he answered. It seems that the question is placed in a direct quote because it is pivotal to the development of the rest of the action in the episode.

The second folktale is about the translation of a folk hero named Lumabet. In this story, a similar testing situation occurs. God tells Lumabet that he will soon be translated. God warns Lumabet that his followers must not speak while he is being translated; otherwise, they will not be taken up to heaven with him. Instead they will be transformed into rocks, monkeys, or birds.

(8a) *Gama' kato' Manama, "Lumabet, tagana' ka so masig ka*
said God Lumabet prepare you for nearly you
mabaloy na di' mokit ka kamatayan."
will.translate now will.not will.go you death
God said to him, "Lumabet, get ready because you are about to be translated, and you will not pass through death."

(8b) *"Asta kagiyi nu to' mga sakop nu, na di'*
and say you plural included.ones your now will.not
moteyp doton ta ello mabaloy ka."
already will.talk at day will.translate you
"And tell your followers not to talk at the time you will be translated."

(8c) *Gama' kato' Manama, "Atin to' moteyp di'*
said God if will.talk will.not
makatekkes ak niko mabaloy kon di'
able.to.accompany you will.translate reportedly will.not
mabaloy dan ded doton ta bato, lutong, asta mga
will.translate they only at rock monkey and plural
manok."
bird

God said, "If they say anything, they will not be able to follow you in being translated; they will not be translated, [they will only be changed] into rocks, monkeys, and birds."

As the story continues, Lumabet's son, Tagaliyong, is hunting in the forest with a little child who is a relative. While Tagaliyong is hunting, he suddenly becomes aware that his father's time for being taken up into heaven is very near. To keep the child from talking, Tagaliyong puts the child in his bag, but the child talks anyway and is transformed into a bird. The child's words are given in a direct quote.

(9a) *Igbaba din to' bata' doton ta kabil na egtago'an din ka*
carried he child at bag now place.where.put he
bato titikan abo' di' moteyp.
rock igniter so.that will.not will.talk

He carried the child on his back in the bag in which he put a flintstone so that he [the child] would not talk.

(9b) *Asal goteyp o' man to' bata' igkagi, "Bayo, ennok*
but talked sure indeed child said brother.in.law if
doton ki den datas ta langit, dowen po'
at we already above heaven to.be sure
pakalyagey?"
reciprocal.marrying

But the child talked anyway, saying, "Brother-in-law, when we get to heaven, will people marry each other?"

(9c) *So marag goteyp to' bata', igantog i Tagaliyong to' kabil din*
for always talking child threw Tagaliyong bag his
tekkes to' bata' asta to' bato titikan din.
accompanied child and rock igniter his

Because the child kept talking, Tagaliyong threw away his bag together with the child and his flintstone.

(9d) *To' bata' mibaloy kalongkong manok.*
child transformed kanlongkong bird

The child was transformed into a *kalongkong* bird.

Here again it is not the content of the quote, but the very act of speaking that is important. Once the words, any words, are spoken, the damage is done. God's warning is transgressed, and the consequences take effect immediately. The child is instantaneously changed into a bird.

It seems appropriate that in each of these folktales, the act of speaking is the pivotal element that triggers the peaks. In the story about the dirty child, the test could have centered around some test of strength or endurance. In the story about Lumabet, God's warning could have focused on some other requirement, such as physical presence when Lumabet was translated. Instead, the warning given in both stories is the warning not to talk. The fact that the warnings center on the act of speaking capitalizes on the foregrounding function of direct quotes. The foregrounding function of quotes, in turn, is skillfully incorporated into the story in order to create and mark pivotal action in the plot structure.

Quotes can also foreground key actions in peaks of narrative texts. In two of five texts, quotes occur in the peak of the text. Again the quote marks the key action associated with the peak. This can be seen in example 10 which follows.

Example 10 is taken from the text about the trading trip and occurs at the peak of the text. The peak centers around the selling of the goods at a financial loss. The loss of the capital is the crucial event. It is stated twice in two declarative sentences, 10a and 10b. Sentence 10c contains a quote from the man who sold the goods. In the quote, he states another key action: "We will not go back again." This quote is interesting because it states what the participants will not do, rather than what they will do. It is the only quote in the text containing this kind of negative statement. The intention not to return to the town where the financial loss took place is repeated in another two quotes in sentences 10d and 10e. In these sentences, the speaker is the man's sister, who put up the capital for the trading trip. The quotes stating that the participants will not return are followed by a declarative sentence, 10f, which states that the participants did not return, but stayed where they were.

(10a)	*Iglabas to' igbelli din, kadakellan lima mararan, mikolangan* sold bought he largeness five thousand he *skandin ak sebbad mararan peysos.* one thousand pesos pesos	When he sold what he had bought for five thousand [pesos], he was lacking one thousand pesos.
(10b)	*Enda' den ka sampong to' salapi' din.* not already full money his	He did not have the full amount.
(10c)	*Na igkagi din kanak, "Di' ki pa lomonod, so enda'* now said he me will.not we yet return for not *ikoli' to' salapi' tigkaney ta."* able.to.return.back money begin our	Then he said to me, "We will not go back again, because we lack assets."
(10d)	*Igkagi to' tebbey din, "Iya' ka paglonod diyan."* said sister his do.not you will.return to	His sister said, "Do not go back there again."
(10e)	*"Sonod den ello, kon madiger den ey panahon."* next already day if good already time	"Some other day, when it is a better time."
(10f)	*Taddo' enda' den pano skandin, goddo' key den taddo'.* there not already hike he dwelled we already there	So he did not leave there; we stayed there.

There are two interesting points to be made about this example. First, normally only the direct speech of one speaker is recorded for each key action in a text. In this example, two speakers are quoted: the man who made the transaction and his sister who financed the trip. The occurrence of two quoted speakers signals that this part of the story is more important than any other part. It also allows the information about the loss of the money to be repeated several times, indicating that it is the most important information in the peak. Second, in the peak there is a switch in the order of quotes and their corresponding declarative sentences in the peak. In the prepeak and postpeak positions of the text, declarative sentences stating key actions occur first, followed by quotes that repeat the key action. In the peak, however, the order is reversed; the quotes stating the action (the participants will not return to the town) occur first, followed by the declarative sentence that paraphrases the action (they did not return). The switch in sentence order also indicates that this sequence of sentences is more important than those in other positions in the text.

2.2. Quotes foreground reasons

A second function of direct quotes is to foreground reasons. Reasons found in quotes are always associated with key actions or themes. In fact, reasons are so tightly interrelated with key actions and themes that it is difficult to talk about reasons without talking about the actions and themes as well. Therefore, this section will discuss only quoted reasons that are associated with key actions. Quoted reasons associated with themes are discussed separately in section 3.3.

When quoted reasons are associated with key actions, they serve as motivations for those actions. This function is illustrated in the following example, which is taken from the text about the trading trip. It occurs in the prepeak position of the text. The sentence begins with a declarative clause that states a key action, namely, that the speaker went with his friend. The declarative clause is followed by a dependent reason clause that contains a quote. The first half of the quote acts as a reason for the key action. The speaker went with his friend because his friend asked him to come along. The quote itself, however, also contains a dependent reason clause. This reason explains why the friend wanted to go to Tagum: he wanted to make some money at the gold diggings. Both reasons function as motivations for the actions they support.

(11) *Tekkes a kato' sebbad amigo ko so ma' din, "Madon ki*
accompanied I one friend my for said he will.go we
diyan so mamasak ki ka salapi' doton ta pamolawan."
to for will.look.for we money at where.gold.is.found

I accompanied a friend of mine, because he said, "Let's go there because we will look for money at the gold diggings."

Example 12 is another illustration of quotes foregrounding reasons. Example 12 is found in a factual text that tells how people in a particular community fled their homes when they thought they were going to be caught in fighting between two outside forces. The example occurs at the peak of the text.

At this point in the story, the speaker goes to a nearby bridge to investigate the seriousness of the situation. She arrives only to find out that the bridge is about to be blown up, and there are armed men everywhere. At that very moment, a man selling bread calls out to the speaker warning her to flee for safety. His words are recorded as direct quotes in sentences 12a, 12b, and 12c.

In sentence 12a, his warning to get away is the statement of the key action. The key action is repeated again in sentence 12b and followed by three dependent reason clauses. The reason clauses contain information that explains the danger of the situation and supports the key action that the man is urging her to take. Sentence 12c repeats the key action once more and states a final reason for the action which is the most persuasive motivation of all: the speaker will get shot if she does not get away. A succeeding declarative sentence states that she and her family left the area.

(12a) *Na ma' kato' manobo' egbarigya' ak pan, so migkilala dey*
now said person sells bread for recognized us
man miginsa' a kandin, ma' din kanak, "Manan ak di'
indeed asked me he said he me why will.not
ko giwa'?"
you gone.away

Now the person who sells bread, because he recognized us, he asked me, "Why have you not gotten away?"

(12b) *"Iwa' ko," ma' din, "so egkasuko dan ak niyo so manan ka*
get.away you said he for angry they you for why you
di' ko kon giwa', so atin domonggo' kon
will.not you reportedly gone.away for if will.arrive reportedly
to' tarak ka sundalo, sira'en dan yan tulay.
truck soldier will.destroy they that bridge

"Get away," he said, "because they are angry at you, because why is it you have not gone away, because if the truck of soldiers arrives, they will destroy that bridge."

(12c) *"Iwa' ko kon ka dowa gatos metros so*
get.away you reportedly two hundred meters for
katimbakan ko."
will.be.shot you

"Get away two hundred meters because you might be shot."

2.3. Quotes foreground themes

A third function of direct quotes is to foreground themes. Theme is defined as a proposition that summarizes what the narrative is about. The theme proposition may or may not be stated explicitly in a sentence in the text (van Dijk 1977:56).

Quotes foregrounding themes occur in the prepeak amd postpeak positions of a text. These quotes follow statements of emotion. On first analysis, it seemed as though these quotes were verifying the emotions they follow, since they all contained comments that responded to the emotions. This analysis raised two questions. First, why were some emotions verified by a quote and not others? Second, why did the quote always include a reason for the emotion? The answers to these questions are found in the content of the reasons that also occur in the quotes.

In the three available examples, each quote not only verifies the emotion it follows, it also foregrounds the theme of the text. It does this by stating a reason supporting the emotion that makes an indirect reference to the theme of the text. Furthermore, these quotes only occur in the prepeak or postpeak positions of the text. These are the usual positions for presenting and summarizing themes.

Two of the three examples in this section are found in the text about midwifery. The first one is located in the prepeak position of the text. It occurs in the dialogue between Paliman and Basagan, which has already been described (sec. 2.1, preceding example 4). Paliman asks Basagan, his host, why people are crying. Sentences 13a to 13e are direct quotes that state Basagan's response. In these quotes, Basagan explains that people are crying because his daughter is going to die in childbirth. Sentence 13f gives Paliman's reply, also a direct quote: "Do not be sad and cry because perhaps I can help this daughter of yours." The sentence verifies the emotion expressed in the previous sentences by telling the people not to be sad and cry. These words are supported by a dependent reason clause in which Paliman says he can help Basagan's daughter. The reason clause refers indirectly to what is to become the theme of the text: Paliman's knowledge of midwifery. The rest of the events in the prepeak and peak positions develop this theme.

(13a) *Igkagi si Paliman, "Iya' ko egrano asta egseggo, so ago*
said Paliman, do.not you be.sad and be.crying for maybe
makatabang a kanan bata' yu bayi."
able.to.help I that child your female

Paliman said, "Do not be sad and cry because perhaps I can help this daughter of yours."

(13b) *Na igkagi si Basagan, "Atin makatabang ka kani bata' ko,*
now said Basagan if able.to.help you this child my
beggeyn ko ak niko agad endin to' pamoyo'em nu."
will.be.given I you even what will .be.asked.for you

Basagan said, "If you are able to help this child of mine, I will give you whatever you ask for."

(13c) *"Di' ki patongko'ey tingod kanan."*
will.not we reciprocally.converse about that
"Let us not talk about that."

(13d) *"Di' a egpamoyo' agad endin."*
will.not I ask.for even what
"I will ask for nothing whatever."

(13e) *"To' ded ginawa nu dini kanak to' gangatan ko," ma' i*
only love your here me will.wait.for I said
Paliman.
Paliman
"I will just wait for your love gift to me," said Paliman.

The next example comes from the same text. It occurs towards the end of the story in the postpeak position. At this point in the story, Paliman has safely delivered the baby and saved the life of Basagan's daughter. He has also stayed to teach his midwifery skills to several people in the village. Now he is about to return home.

In example 14, it is stated that people were crying when Paliman left to return home. The sentence contains a quote that verifies the emotion by giving a reason for their sadness: they loved Paliman very much. The quote, in turn, also contains another reason which supports the statement that they loved Paliman. The reason they loved him is that he was able to help them. Once again this second reason refers indirectly to the theme of Paliman's midwifery skills. This quote, which is the final quote in the text, brings the hearer back to the theme of the text. The theme is stated once more in almost the same words in a declarative sentence that occurs near the very end of the text.

(14) *Na ta igoli' si Paliman, to'o egseggo to'*
now returned.back Paliman very be.crying
sakop i Basagan, so ma' din, "Iginawa'an dan si
included.ones Basagan for said he loved they
Paliman so mikatabang kandan."
Paliman for helped them
Now when Paliman went home, Basagan's followers cried very much because he said, "They loved Paliman because he was able to help them."

The next example is taken from the text about the trading trip. It occurs in the final part of the postpeak position. The speaker has returned from the trading trip, which has turned out to be a financial disaster. When he arrives home, he finds that his family has bought things on credit in anticipation of the money they had expected him to make.

In sentence 15b, the speaker expresses his feelings: their act of buying on credit made him sad. The second half of sentence 15b contains a quote that verifies the emotion by explaining why the speaker is sad; namely, there is no money. The quote also contains another reason clause that explains why the lack of money is such a problem: his family has purchased things on credit.

(15a) *Mikabollog eskandan igangat kanak na mikotang dan den*
disappointed they waited me now credited they already
doton ta tindahan.
to store.
They were disappointed in waiting for me for they had purchased on credit at the store.

(15b) *Mikabeggey kanak ka rano, na ma' ko, "Endin ey bayad ta so*
able.to.give me sad now said I what pay we for
ikotang ko?"
able.to.credit you
That made me sad, and I said, "With what will we pay because you purchased on credit?"

(15c) *Kagi ko doton ta pamilya ko, "Mamasak ki pa abo'*
say I at family my will.look.for we yet so.that
makabayad ki kato' otang.
able.to.pay we credit

I said to my family, "We will look for money in order to pay for the credit purchases."

(15d) *"Igotang yu doton ta tindahan."*
credited you at store

"What you purchased on credit at the store."

(15e) *Taddo' ded go sippang.*
there only surely until

Until there only.

Sentences 15c and 15d repeat the idea that there is no money and that there is now a debt to be paid as well. The repetition of these ideas foregrounds the theme of the text: the loss of the money. It also underscores the disappointment that is implied in the theme. These remarks are the final sentences in the story. It has been noted that in each of these examples the reference to the theme is indirect; however, the fact that the theme is mentioned in a direct quote places it in the foreground.

2.4. Quotes mark main participants

The fourth function of direct quotes is to mark the main participants in a text. Main participants initiate or control key actions. Only these participants can make direct quotes. Direct quotes are never attributed to minor participants. In a sense this is as it should be. Quotes in narrative texts function to foreground key actions and themes and their supporting reasons. Main participants are the primary figures that perform the key actions which, in turn, develop the themes of the text. This relationship between the main participants and the key actions of a narrative discourse can be seen in two texts.

The first text in which the relationship between main participants and key actions is seen is the folktale about the dirty child. The text consists of several episodes. The dirty child is the main participant. He is present throughout the story and plays a major role in each episode. In each episode, however, another one or two participants interact with the child.

For example, in the first episode, the dirty child meets two large snakes who give him a series of instructions. The words of the snakes are presented in direct quotes. The instructions, which include a warning not to talk to anyone, provide the major events in the rest of the plot of the story.

In the second episode, the child meets a dalomey tree. The tree asks the child a question, given in a direct quote. This question initiates a test for the child: will he obey the snakes' warning and refuse to answer the question? The test is the pivotal action in the episode.

The third episode is similar to the second one. The child comes to a lake where he meets a lake fairy. The lake fairy asks the child a question, given in a direct quote. Again the question creates a test for the child which becomes the pivotal action in the episode. In both these episodes a test is initiated by a direct quote attributed to the main participant of each episode: the dalomey tree in the first episode, and the lake fairy in the second.

Finally, in the fourth episode, the dirty child also gives a direct quote. This occurs when the boy reaches a place in the forest that appeals to him. He sighs with satisfaction and says, "It would be wonderful if I were to make this place mine." This direct quote initiates the closing events of the story describing how he settles in that place and establishes his home.

In this folktale, the dirty child, the snakes, the dalomey tree, and the lake fairy are the main participants. They control the key actions of the story. They are also the only participants that state direct quotes.

The second text in which the relationship between main participants and key actions is seen is the account of the trading trip. In this text, there are three major participants. The first participant is the speaker who goes along on the trading trip. The second participant is the speaker's friend who actually

initiates the trading trip. The third participant is the friend's sister who provides the money for the trading trip.

At the beginning of the story, all the direct quotes are made by the friend. This is fitting since it is the friend who initiates and directs the trading trip. At the peak of the story, the direct quotes are made by the friend and his sister. At the end of the story, all the direct quotes are made by the speaker. Once again only the main participants state direct quotes.

There is an interesting observation to be made about the sister in this second text. Before the peak of the story, the sister is only mentioned once. This occurs in a statement made by the friend in which he explains that his sister gave him five thousand pesos as capital for the trading trip. This single reference to the sister contrasts with the references to the speaker and the friend, one or the other of whom are mentioned in nearly every prepeak sentence. Consequently, it is surprising that the sister reappears at the peak of the story and gives two direct quotes. This raises a question. If only main participants can give direct quotes, why is the sister quoted? Until her appearance in the peak, she is only referred to once, suggesting that she is a minor participant in the story.

Since the sister is present in the peak and gives, not one, but two quotes, it appears that she is a main participant in the story. What then allows her to be brought on stage as a main participant at the peak of the story? There are two possible explanations. The first explanation is her role in the story. It is the sister who provided the capital for the trading trip in the first place. Consequently, without her money, there would have been no trip, and without the trip, there would have been no story. The second explanation occurs in the sentence in which the sister is first mentioned. In example 16 which follows, the noun phrase identifying the sister is introduced by the nominal marker *kato'*. Normally the noun phrase would have been introduced by the marker *ka*. The occurrence of *kato'* in this construction is unusual. In this case, it appears to signal that the sister is in some way important to the story. The unusual use of *kato'* does not explain in what way the sister is important. The hearer must wait until the peak of the story before the sister comes on stage as a main participant.

(16) *Sak igpoddo' a ikandin doton ta Tagum, ma' din, "Sak madon a*
I dwelled I he at Tagum, said he I will.go I
doton ta Balma, so igbeggayan a kato' tebbey ko ka
at Balma for have.been.given I sister my
tigkaneyan kadakellan lima mararan salapi'."
beginning largeness five thousand money

He had me stay at Tagum, saying, "I myself will go to Balma because my sister has given me assets to the extent of five thousand pesos."

3. Conclusion

We began this study with the question, Do direct quotes belong on the backbone of narrative texts? To answer this question, we analyzed the function of quotes in Tagabawa narrative discourse. We found that direct quotes perform four functions. First, they foreground key actions on the backbone of a narrative text. Second, they foreground reasons that support both key actions and themes. Third, they foreground themes. Fourth, they mark main participants. Since direct quotes foreground essential elements in narrative discourse, such as themes, key actions, and main participants, we conclude that, for Tagabawa narrative discourse at least, direct quotes do occur on the backbone.

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The Functions of *hay* in Aklanon Narrative Discourse

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0. Introduction
1. *hay* as pause
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0. Introduction

This article discusses the *hay* particle as it occurs in narrative discourse in Aklanon:[1] what kinds of grammatical constructions *hay* occurs in; where in a text *hay* constructions are found; what kinds of information are contained in *hay* constructions; and what functions *hay* constructions perform.

The *hay* particle performs two main functions in narrative discourse: (1) it signals a pause, and (2) it signals an inverted clause.

1. *hay* as pause

The first main function of *hay* is to signal pause. The pause may be one of two kinds: first, a grammatical pause when it comes between a noun phrase and a following independent clause or a dependent clause and a following independent clause; second, a hesitation at the beginning of a sentence or a quote.

1.1. *hay* as grammatical pause

When *hay* functions as a grammatical pause, it can occur between a preposed noun phrase and an independent clause. It can also occur between a dependent clause and an independent clause when the dependent clause precedes the independent clause. When *hay* acts as a grammatical pause, it

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[1] The Aklanon language is spoken by the 350,000 residents of Aklan province in the Republic of the Philippines. It is part of the Malayo-Polynesian language family.

The texts used in this paper were gathered by Poul and Kris Jensen. The texts were collected between 1983 and 1987 in Aklan under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The analysis was done during a discourse workshop held by the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Bagabag, Nueva Viscaya, Philippines, in October 1987. The workshop was directed by Michael R. Walrod, and the linguistic consultants were Rodolfo R. Barlaan and Sherri Brainard.

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functions much the same way as does the English comma when it occurs between dependent and independent clauses.

When *hay* signals a grammatical pause, it is optional. If *hay* is present, it occurs with a phonological pause. If *hay* is not present, the phonological pause alone occurs. It should be noted, however, that in fast speech the phonological pause is virtually imperceptible.

Sentence 1 shows *hay* signaling a pause between a preposed noun phrase and an independent clause. The preposed noun phrase, 'When it was already time to eat', is separated by *hay* from the independent clause, 'the animal keeper was also called'.

(1) *Tag oras eon nga gakaon hay gintawag man ro*
when time already LIG eat PAUS call also F[2]
bakero para nagkaon.
animal.keeper in.order.to eat

When it was already time to eat, the animal keeper was also called in order to eat.

Sentence 2 shows *hay* signaling a pause between a dependent clause and an independent clause. The dependent clause is 'and when I see that the jellyfish has no more bones'; it is separated by *hay* from the independent clause which follows.

(2) *Ag kon hikita ko nga owa eon it tue-an si Buroe*
and when see I LIG none anymore LIG bones F jellyfish
hay gamayad eon ako.
PAUS get.well already I,F

And when I see that jellyfish has no more bones, then I will get well.

In the available texts, several kinds of information occurred in the preposed noun phrases and dependent clauses that were followed by the *hay* particle. Preposed noun phrases contained time information and statements of attribution. Dependent clauses also contained time information as well as conditions and reasons. Of the different kinds of information stated in these prenuclear constructions, time information was the most common (fourteen out of twenty-one occurrences). Because the prenuclear constructions followed by *hay* so often presented time information, the sentences in which they occurred were frequently found at the beginning of texts along with other sentences that presented setting information. They also occurred in the first sentences of new paragraphs when the sentences indicated a change in time.

Sentences 1 and 2 are examples of a preposed noun phrase and a dependent clause that contain time information. Sentence 3 is an example of a preposed noun phrase followed by *hay* which contains attribution information. The attribution credits another person with the information contained in the independent clause. The phrase is often used to disclaim responsibility for the truthfulness of the information. In sentence 3 the author attributes what she says to the animal keeper rather than herself.

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[2] The following is a list of the abbreviations and symbols used in the interlinear gloss of the examples:

EMPH	emphasis
F	focus
INV	inversion
LIG	ligature
PAUS	pause or hesitation
PL	plural
REF	referen
-	glottal before vowel
'	glottal before consonant

(3) *Suno sa bakero, hay kilaea'ta nana nga*
according.to REF animal.keeper PAUS know he LIG
mayad ro magueang nga tawo nga nagtago kana.
good/well F old LIG person LIG hide him

According to the animal keeper, he knew very well the old man who had hidden him.

Sentences 4 and 5 are examples of dependent clauses followed by *hay* that contain information other than time. In sentence 4, the prenuclear dependent clause states a condition, 'So if you looked at the rice fields':

(4) *Ngani nga kon imo nga tan-awon ro kaeanas-an ag ro*
so LIG if you LIG look F rice.field and F
kabukiran sa libot it eanas hay matsa may
mountains REF perimeter of rice.field PAUS seems.like there.is
fiesta, sa kaaboon it tawo nga nagalibot-libot nga
fiesta REF abundance of people LIG wander.around LIG
nagatawag daea ro pag-inusoy sa ginhimaduea nga
call at.the.same.time F search REF lost LIG
bakero.
animal.keeper

So if you looked at the rice fields and the mountains surrounding the rice fields, it would have seemed like a fiesta because of the many people that were going around and calling while they were looking for the animal keeper who was lost.

In sentence 5, the prenuclear dependent clause presents a reason for the action that is given in the independent clause.

(5) *Ngani tungod palangga gid ni Haring Dragon ro anang asawa*
so because cherish EMPH king dragon F his wife
hay ginpatawag dayon nana ro mga manogbueong it ginharian
PAUS call then he F PL healer of kingdom
pero owa sanda it mahimo.
but have.not they LIG ability

So because King Dragon cherished his wife so much, he then called for the healers of the kingdom, but they were not able (to help).

1.2. *hay* as hesitation

A less common, but related, function of *hay* is to signal hesitation. It can signal a hesitation at the beginning of a sentence or a quote. In this case *hay* acts as a stalling device. Sentence 6 shows a typical occurrence of *hay* signaling hesitation at the beginning of the sentence.

(6) *Hay ginaingaan imaw ku ana nga daywang ka igmanghod nga*
PAUS warn he,F his LIG two LIG sibling LIG
babayi nga indi imaw rito magpangasawa sa babayi ngaron
girl LIG not he,F there court REF girl that
ay ginasinghan nga aswang.
because say LIG vampire.man

Well, his two sisters admonished him not to court that girl because it was said that she was a vampire woman.

2. *hay* as an inversion particle

The second main function of *hay* is to signal that the normal word order in a clause has been inverted. In this case, *hay* occurs between the constituents of the clause. When *hay* signals an inverted clause construction it is obligatory.

In an inverted clause construction, one constituent of the clause is preposed to the beginning of the clause. Preposing the constituent to the beginning of the clause signals that this particular constituent is more important than the other ones in the clause. When *hay* occurs in an inverted clause construction, it separates the preposed clause constituent from the rest of the clause.

Sentences 7 and 8 illustrate the process of inverting a clause. Sentence 7 shows the most natural word order for an equational clause which equates 'my father' with 'farmer'. In sentence 8 the noun phrase 'my father' has been preposed, and *hay* has been inserted between the noun phrase and the rest of the clause. The English translation of both sentences is the same; that is, sentence 8 is not a cleft sentence, such as 'My father was the one who was a farmer.' Both sentences 7 and 8 are translated 'My father was a farmer.'

(7) *Mangunguma ro akon nga tatay.* — My father was a farmer.
farmer F my LIG father

(8) *Ro akon nga tatay hay mangunguma.* — My father was a farmer.
F my LIG father INV farmer

It should be noted that the preposed constituent is always a noun phrase, and the noun phrase is always in focus. Also, when the noun phrase is preposed, there is no pronoun left behind to mark its original position in the clause.

The position of the inverted clause in the text is related to the kind of information that is preposed. Inverted clauses with *hay* usually occur in the setting and the conclusion of texts. There is one interesting text in which *hay* occurs throughout the text. This text will be discussed in section 2.3.

2.1. *hay* inverted clauses at the beginning of a text

hay inverted clauses that occur at the beginning of texts prepose two kinds of information: participants and locations. Of the two kinds of information, participants are the most common. In narrative texts, main participants are introduced in *hay* inverted clauses at the beginning of the texts. Sentence 8 in the preceding section illustrates this function.

Sentence 8 is the first sentence of a text about the kidnapping of an animal keeper by a vampire. The sentence introduces one of the main participants of the text, 'my father'. Because the father is a main participant, the noun phrase mentioning him is preposed to the beginning of the sentence. The preposed noun phrase signals that the father is more important than other participants in the text.

In folktale texts, participants are introduced in existential sentences. These existential sentences can be followed by another sentence that occurs in the form of an inverted *hay* clause. The inverted *hay* clause contains information that further identifies the main participant.

For example, sentences 9a and 9b are found in a folktale that tells about the origin of vampires. Sentence 9a introduces the first three participants, two sisters and a brother. The sisters are minor participants and are never named, but the brother is the main participant of the story. Sentence 9b goes on to name him in an inverted *hay* clause.

(9a) *May tatlong ka magmaeanghod nga daywang ka bayi ag* — There were three brothers and sisters, two girls and a boy.
there.is three LIG sibling LIG two LIG girl and
sambilog nga eaki.
one LIG boy

(9b) *Ronduyon nga eaki ngaron ra ana nga ngaean hay si Baeahidyong.* — That boy, his name was Baeahidyong.
that LIG boy that F his LIG name INV F Baeahidyong

Locations can also be foregrounded by inverted *hay* clauses. In the text that tells why the jellyfish has no bones, the location of the story is first mentioned in an existential sentence. Additional

information about the kingdom is given in the next sentence. This sentence, seen in sentence 10b, is a *hay* inverted clause. The location, the kingdom, is stated in the preposed noun phrase. It is followed by *hay* and the rest of the clause which further describes the kingdom.

(10a) *May isaeang ka ginharian sa idaeom it dagat.*
there.is one LIG kingdom REF bottom of sea

There was a kingdom at the bottom of the sea. This kingdom was ruled by King Dragon.

(10b) *Dayang ginharian hay ginadumaeahan ni Haring Dragon.*
this kingdom INV head king dragon

2.2. *hay* inverted clauses at the end of a text

hay inverted clauses that occur at the end of texts prepose information in sentences that signals the impending conclusions of the texts. In the available data, there are three examples of *hay* inverted clauses occurring at the end of texts.

The first example is sentence 11, which is the last sentence in a text telling why mosquitos try to get into people's ears. The mosquito is one of the main participants in the text. Sentence 11 states the reason why mosquitos try to enter people's ears. The reason refers to the theme of the text. In stating the reason, the mosquito is mentioned again in a noun phrase. The noun phrase is preposed and followed by *hay*.

(11) *Ngani nga hasta makaron ro namok hay nagasueod iya sa*
so LIG until now F mosquito INV enter here REF
aton nga dueonggan ay ro eaom ku namok hay
our LIG ear because F wrong.idea of mosquito PAUS
iya ro alimango nakasuhot.
here F crab crawl.in

So, even up to the present time, the mosquito goes in our ears because the mosquito thinks that the crab has crawled in there.

The second example, sentence 12, comes from the text about the jellyfish. Sentence 12 is the last sentence in the text. It presents a summary of the theme of the story. The jellyfish, the main participant, is mentioned in the sentence. Again, it is the main participant that is preposed to the beginning of the inverted clause.

(12) *Ngani, raya ro istorya kon ham-an ro buroe hay owa it*
so this F story of why F jellyfish INV have.no LIG
tue-an o bisan bakog eon lang hasta makaron
bones or even fish.bones just only until now

So, this is the story of why the jellyfish has no bones, or even fish bones, to this day.

The third example, sentence 13, occurs in the text about the kidnapping of the animal keeper. Sentence 13 is the last sentence in the text. In this example, sentence 13 is responding to the request that initiated the telling of the story. The speaker was asked to tell a personal experience story. She complied by giving the fantastic account about the kidnapping of an animal keeper by a vampire man. The speaker brings her story to a close by referring back to the request for a personal experience story. She testifies that even though the story sounds unbelievable, it really is a true happening.

(13) *Raya nga istorya hay indi haeos mapatihan pero raya hay*
this LIG story INV not almost believe but this INV
matuod nga natabo.
true LIG happening
This story is almost unbelievable, but it is a true happening.

2.3. *hay* inverted clauses in the body of a text

As has been mentioned, *hay* inverted clauses usually occur at the beginning or the conclusion of a text. There is, however, one text that is an exception to this pattern. In this text, *hay* clauses occur not only at the beginning and the conclusion of the text, but throughout the prepeak section that leads up to the peak of the text.

The text is the account of the animal keeper who is kidnapped by a vampire man. In brief, the speaker tells how her father's animal keeper disappeared one day. When the father realized that the animal keeper was missing, he soon had everyone searching for the man. They searched the whole day and were about to give up when they heard a shout. It was the animal keeper. When they found the man, he explained that he had been kidnapped by a vampire man and had only just then escaped.

As the story begins, the animal keeper is introduced in the first sentence in a *hay* inverted clause, as follows:

(14) *Akon nga madumduman kat maisot pa ako, ro amon nga*
I LIG remember when small still I F our LIG
bakero hay gintago it aswang.
animal.keeper INV hide vampire.man
I remember, when I was still small, our animal keeper was hidden by a vampire man.

In the prepeak section following the first sentence, there are several occurrences of *hay* clauses. These clauses prepose several kinds of information. The use of the *hay* clauses in this section appears to be a rhetorical device for highlighting the theme of the story and for increasing the suspense as the story builds up to the peak. For example, the information about the news of the lost animal keeper occurs twice in *hay* clauses. The news that the keeper has disappeared refers to the theme of the story. The news is the preposed information as is seen in sentence 15.

(15) *Ngani nga matsa nabantogan ro balita ku pagkaduea ku*
so LIG seems.like well.known F news of lost of
amon nga bakero ag pati ro banwa hay nakasayod
our LIG animal.keeper and including F town INV know
eon.
already
So it seemed like the news that our animal keeper was lost was well known and even the town knew already.

Participants are also introduced in *hay* clauses in the prepeak section. In these clauses, however, the participants are not main participants, but minor ones. The question then is why are minor participants being introduced in *hay* clauses as though they were main participants. In the story, the speaker points out that everyone was searching for the lost animal keeper. She does this by naming all the different people who had joined in the search, the plowers, the villagers, the police, as well as others. She underlines the fact that many people were searching for the keeper by introducing each group of participants in *hay* clauses. Sentences 16 and 17 are examples.

(16) *Ngani, owa mabuhayi, ro mga kasimaryo hay nagtibyog sa*
so not long.time F PL fellow.villager INV join REF
pagtawag ag sa pag-usoy sa amon nga bakero.
call and REF search REF our LIG animal.keeper
So it did not take long for the other villagers to join together to call and look for our keeper.

(17) *Haeos ro tanan hay nagbuylog sa pag-inusoy.*
almost F all INV join REF search
Almost everyone joined in the search.

The speaker illustrates how concerned everyone was about the disappearance of the keeper by noting that even the water buffalo were left unattended in the fields. To underline this point, she states the information in a *hay* clause as seen in sentence 18.

(18) *Ro mga anwang hay owa eo't-a ngani madiparahi.*
F PL water.buffalo INV not already take.care.of
The water buffalo were not being taken care of anymore.

The reappearance of the animal keeper forms the peak of the story. The speaker highlights the peak by focusing on the keeper's physical condition. As she describes his rather battered appearance, she concentrates on one particular detail, his torn-off toenails. This information is given in two *hay* clauses as follows:

(19) *Ro bakero hay nakita nga maeopsi, maabo nga lisgis ro*
F animal.keeper INV see LIG pale many LIG scratch F
anang mga butkon, siki ag batiis.
his PL arm foot and leg
The keeper was pale, and had many scratches on his arms, feet, and lower legs.

(20) *Ro kuko ku anang mga tudlo it siki hay nagkaeapaksi.*
F nail of his PL toe of foot INV peel.off
The nails on his toes had been peeled off.

Following the peak of the story is the keeper's account of what happened. He tells how he was kidnapped by a vampire man. Even though he could see and hear the people who were searching for him, he could not answer because he was in the grip of his captor. The vampire man had dragged him from place to place around the field. That is how his toenails were torn off.

After the peak, there is only one other occurrence of a *hay* clause. It is the last sentence (see sentence 13 in sec. 2.2) and concludes the text.

3. Conclusion

In Aklanon narrative discourse, *hay* performs two functions: (1) it indicates a grammatical pause, and (2) it marks an inverted clause construction. Its occurrence is not limited to narrative discourse; it is found in all discourse genres in Aklanon. More analysis needs to be done to determine its role in the other discourse genres. This is especially true for expository discourse in which *hay* occurs much more frequently than in narrative.

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Sentence Types in Eastern Kadazan

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Word level abbreviations

DU	dual	POSS	possessive
EMPH	emphatic	PUR	purpose
EX	exclusive	RS	reported speech
EXCL	exclamation	RSP	reported speech particle
IN	inclusive	SG	singular
LK	link between two clauses	SURP	surprise
MK	nominal phrase marker	TopLk	topic link
PL	plural		

Sentence level abbreviations

AB	alternative base
AdvLk	adversative link
AltInt	alternative introducer
AltLk	alternative link
AMP	amplification
AmpLk	amplification link
AnsMk	answer marker
ApoMk	apodosis marker
ATH	antithesis
CaLk	caution link
CcAp	concessive apodosis
CcLk	concessive link
CcMk	concessive marker
CcPr	concessive protasis
CdAp	conditional apodosis
CdPr	conditional protasis

COMP	comparison
COUNT	counterexpectation
CpLk	comparative link
CpSt	comparative statement
CQtF	closing quotation formula
CrB	coordinate base
CrLk	coordinate link
CtAp	contrafactual apodosis
CtMk	contrafactual marker
CtPr	contrafactual protasis
CuLk	counterexpectation link
DMg	disclaimer margin
DQt	direct quotation
DQtF	direct quotation formula
DQtLk	direct quotation link
EQ	equivalent
EqLk	equivalent link
EV	evaluation
EvLk	evaluation link
ExLk	explanation link
ExQt	explanation quotation
ExQtF	explanation quotation formula
ExQtLk	explanation quotation link
IQ	indirect question
IQF	indirect question formula
IQMk	indirect question marker
IQt	indirect quotation
IQtF	indirect quotation formula
IQtLk	indirect quotation link
JB	juxtaposed base
MgV	merged verb
NeCo	negative command
NU	nucleus
PH	paraphrase
PhLk	paraphrase link
PR	proposition
PrMk	protasis marker
PuCl	purpose clause
PuLk	purpose link
QTP	quotation particle
R	reason
RpMg	response margin
RsLk	reason link
RU	result
RuLk	result link
SmB	simultaneous base
SmI	simultaneous introducer
SmLk	simultaneous link
SmMk	simultaneous marker
SMT	similarity

SqB	sequence base
SqLk	sequence link
SsFm	sensation formula
SsLk	sensation link
SsQt	sensation quotation
StInt	sentence introducer
STM	statement
StmLk	statement link
StMod	sentence modifier
StTLk	sentence topic link
StTMg	sentence topic margin
TagQMk	tag question marker
TH	thesis
TmLk	terminating link
TmMk	terminating marker
TmSq	terminating sequence
VOC	vocative
WCl	warning clause

Symbols

,	semantic/grammatical components
.	multiple word gloss/vernacular morphemes can be phonologically separated in the gloss
...	sentence ellipsis
-	separates reduplicated vernacular morphemes
..	used with *do* or *nga* to signify link between main clause and subordinate clause
/	alternate related meanings in gloss

0. Introduction

This paper provides a preliminary description of sentences in the Labuk-Kinabatangan Kadazan language[1]. In studying sentences, one of the first tasks is to determine what a sentence is. How does a sentence differ from a clause? How does a sentence differ from a paragraph? Is the analysis of a sentence based on phonological or grammatical criteria?

The grammatical sentence is the focus of this paper, but first of all it is necessary to distinguish between phonological and grammatical sentences. Grammatical sentences and phonological sentences can be mapped onto each other by a set of rules as set up by Lawrence Reid (Longacre 1968:3).

While the rules posited for distinguishing grammatical and phonological sentences are applicable for Bontoc, the language which he was studying, they seem to have a wider application in other Philippine-type languages such as Kadazan. The rules are as follows:

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[1] Labuk-Kinabatangan Kadazan is one of the Dusunic languages in Sabah, a state in Malaysia on the island of Borneo. There are about 12,000 to 14,000 speakers of Labuk-Kinabatangan Kadazan found along the Labuk and Kinabatangan Rivers, both of which flow to the east coast of the state.

This analysis was done at a workshop in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, conducted by Dr. Charles Peck of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. My thanks go to Mr. Augustine Saang, and Mr. Matius Matulang of Telupid area and to Mr. Alfred Rosmin Tais and Mr. Juining Babia of Nangoh who helped to edit some of the examples.

1. Two clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of one grammatical sentence if there is a link (e.g. a conjunction) present functioning on the sentence level.
2. Two clauses phonologically bound, form all or part of one grammatical sentence where no such link is present but one can be plausibly supplied.
3. Two clauses not phonologically bound (i.e. separated by final sentence intonation), form all or part of two grammatical sentences where no link is present, even though a link may be plausibly supplied.
4. Two clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two grammatical sentences where a link is present whose function is to link structures higher than the sentence level.
5. Two clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two grammatical sentences when there is no link present and none can be plausibly supplied.

The model used in this paper is the tagmemic model following Longacre (1968) and Peck (1984) who have used it in linguistic workshops in the Philippines and elsewhere. The tagmemic model was originally formulated by Pike and both of these works are based on that.

When Kadazan sentences were analyzed no dependent sentence margins were found. If a clause within a sentence is permuted to a different position, usually the introducer is changed or a connecting particle is added or deleted between the two clauses. As a result, some sentence types have several sub-types, but in no case were the clauses freely permutable within the sentence.

Many of the sentences used in the examples show a lot of embedding (see sec. 8). An embedded sentence may be one constituent of the matrix sentence, and may be comprised of further embedded sentences.

Most of the examples in the paper were taken from five source texts. Two of the texts were hortatory texts one of which was entitled, 'Avoid Strong Drink' and was a sermon against drinking; the other was entitled 'Instructions to Justina', and was written to exhort the author's sister on how to behave herself when living with foreigners (See Hurlbut, 1984 for the printed texts). The remaining texts consisted of: an explanatory text entitled 'The Use of Cows'; a first-person text, with overtones of a legend, entitled 'The Story of the Headless Monster'; and a folktale entitled 'A Family Searches for Children' (see Sabah Folktales, 1979). The remaining dozen or so examples came from a variety of texts comprising about 250 pages, including letters, folktales, explanatory texts, etc.

There are certain connecting morphemes in Kadazan which have several meanings. In particular, the morpheme *do* is used as link between a main clause and a subordinate clause. Often it alternates with other morphemes. Firstly, *do* occurs as the link between the main clause and the subordinate clause in quotation-oriented sentences. It alternates with *poingkaa* and other morphemes in direct quotation sentences, but does not alternate with other morphemes in other quotation oriented sentences. Secondly, *do* is used as a link between the main clause and the subordinate clause in certain logical structure sentences, namely: alternative, reason, purpose and caution sentences. In reason sentences, it alternates with *sabap do*, *sabap nga*, etc. In purpose sentences it alternates with *supaya* and *supaya do*. It does not alternate with other morphemes in other logical structure sentences. Finally, *do* occurs in both types of cleft sentences and does not alternate with other morphemes.

Another morpheme with several meanings is *om* which has the basic meaning of 'and', and it is used in coordinate and amplification sentences with this meaning. *om* also acts on the paragraph level to connect two sentences which are referring to the same thing. A second meaning of *om* is 'then, and then', and it occurs in narrative sequence sentences with this meaning. Finally *om* occurs at the clause level as part of a linking phrase between a topicalized noun phrase and the predicate. In this case, it can alternate with other morphemes.

A third morpheme with several meanings is *nga* which has the basic meaning of 'but'. It alternates with *tapi/topi* in antithetical sentences with this meaning. Like *om*, it also acts on the paragraph level to connect two sentences, but contrasts with *om* in that the two sentences refer to different things. Finally, like *om*, *nga* occurs at clause level as part of a linking phrase between a topicalized noun phrase and the predicate. The use of *om* and *nga* in this position sometimes seems to be stylistically determined and needs further study.

1. Juxtaposed sentence

A juxtaposed sentence is one in which two main clauses are merely put side by side without any intervening conjunction. The criteria for setting up a juxtaposed sentence instead of two independent clauses are firstly, native speaker reaction in written texts; and, secondly, intonation in recorded texts. The first clause in the sentence may begin with a sentence introducer such as *nga* 'but', *om* 'and', *jadi* 'and so'. The second clause does not have a conjunction.

Juxtaposed Sentence

± Sent Intr	+ Juxtaposed Base$_1$	+ Juxtaposed Base$_2$
jadi 'so', *om* 'and', *nga* 'but'	any clause or any sentence	any clause or any sentence

In the following sentence neither constituent has a conjunction. The first constituent is an embedded sentence.

1a *Kiinam soro ino sumusu gisom..do nokoodop i tongondu, au*
try it that nurse until sleep MK woman not
JB$_1$ JB$_2$
dii lumangkab ka.
EMPH let.go RSP

It began to nurse until the woman fell asleep, it did not let go, they say.

The following sentence begins with *jadi* 'so' in the first constituent and no conjunction before the second constituent.

1b *Jadi posusuvo ka sooro di tongondu, savo diri kusai*
so cause.to.nurse RS it MK woman spouse that man
StInt JB$_1$
iri, ii okuat sumusu ka.
that oh strong nurse RS
JB$_2$

So the woman, the wife of the man, made it nurse, and oh, it nursed strongly, they say.

In the following sentence the first constituent begins with *om* 'and' and the second is juxtaposed without a conjunction. The two constituents form the thesis of an antithetical sentence. (See sec. 4.2 for the constituents of an antithetical sentence.)

1c *Om pojualan tokou okoniko..do akaya nga, "Kivaropo dino*
and cause.to.sell we,IN not rich but there.is that
StInt JB_1 JB_2

do pagaganu do tongosisigup," kadi sambatan di gugulu.
that obtain MK cigarettes RS proverb of ancestors

And we sell it, we don't get rich but, "There is something with which to obtain cigarettes," says the proverb of the ancestors.

2. Time-oriented sentences

2.1 Narrative sequence sentences

A narrative sequence sentence can be marked in several ways. First of all, it may have the sequential link *om* 'and then (same actor)' linking the two sequence bases. In the second type of narrative sequence sentence the verb in the subordinate clause is marked with the prefix *ko-* 'when' and there may be no link between the first and second clause. The third type of narrative sequence is marked with *soira do* 'when' on the first constituent and the second constituent is marked by a link such as *om* 'and, and then' or *na* 'then, and then'. The fourth type of narrative sequence is marked with *sakalipo* 'as soon as' on the first constituent and the second constituent is marked by *om* 'and, and then'. The fifth type of narrative sequence is marked with *pog-* 'as soon as' which occurs as an affix on the first verb in the sentence and the second constituent is optionally marked by *om* 'and, and then'.

Narrative Sequence $Sentence_1$

± Sent Intr	+ Sequence $Base_1$	+ Seq Lk	+ Sequence $Base_2$
jadi 'so', *om* 'and', 'and then'	any declarative clause	om 'then, and then (same subject)', *nga* 'then, and then (different subject)'	any declarative clause whose time is subsequent to that of $base_1$

In the following sentence the first constituent is marked by the sentence introducer *om* 'and, and then'. The two constituents are also linked by *om* 'and then (same subject)' to form a narrative sequence.

2a *Om muli kopo dino silo daton, om mongindadko*
and.then return you,SG that there our and.then wait.you,SG
StInt SqB_1 SqLk SqB_2

do tolu vulan, do irad moi dii dogon i
MK three months because like perhaps EMPH me MK

pasputku tolu vulanku mongindad om korikot nogi.
passport.my three months.I wait and.then arrive also

And then you return home to our place and then you wait three months, because if it's like me, as for my passport, I waited three months and then it came.

In the following sentence the sentence introducer *jadi* 'so, and so' occurs before the first constituent and the two constituents are joined by *om* 'and then'.

2b *Jadi nung korikot, mongoi kopo vagu kumaa silo rumasakit*
so if arrive go yet.you again go there hospital
StInt SqB_1

do mokiinjiksin di kulira, duvo moi ii ponginjik,
PUR ask.for.injection MK cholera two perhaps MK injection

om taakanko nogi do iso surat do kabanaran do
and.then give.you also MK one letter of proof that
SqLk SqB_2

noinjiksinanko.
inject.you

So if you arrive, you go again to the hospital to ask for an injection for cholera, perhaps two injections, and then you will be given a letter of proof that you have been injected.

The following narrative sequence sentence has the two constituents joined by *na* 'then'.

2c *Jadi pukul dua kolobong, na notuvongno dii.*
so strike two bury then dark EMPH
StInt SqB_1 SqLk SqB_2

So they buried her at two o'clock, then it got dark.

The following narrative sequence sentence has the two constituents joined by *nga* 'then, and then' (different subject).

2d *I rogoni dii om tumadtasno dii iri di tomulok, i*
MK demon EMPH and chase EMPH that MK youth MK

rogon dii; nokorosi om sombo-sombo undakan disido om
demon EMPH afraid and wherever run he and
SqB_1

sinumusuk diri vatang, nga osomungan dii, om au
hide.under that log and.then meet EMPH and not
SqLk SqB_2

dii kadapat isido tumuun, do tadtason marong isido di
EMPH able he go.down because chase very he MK

rogon.
demon

As for the demon it chased after that youth, the demon did; he (the youth) was afraid and wherever he ran it hid under a log, and then he, would meet it, and he could not go down because he was really chased by the demon.

Narrative Sequence Sentence$_2$

±Sent Intr	+Sequence Base$_1$	±Seq Lk	+Sequence Base$_2$
jadi 'so', *om* 'and'	*(no)ko-* + Vb Rt in a declarative verbal clause	*om* 'and then'	any declarative verbal clause whose time is subsequent to that of base$_1$

In the following two sentences no link occurs between the two constituents.

2e *Kaansak iri tinimbu, mangaino suvuo diri tinimbu iri, nga*
cook that gruel do hand.feed that gruel that but
SqB_1 SqB_2
au mangakan ka iri.
not eat RSP that

When the gruel was cooked she fed it (the leech) the gruel by hand, but it would not eat, they say.

2f *Jadi kouli nopo sovoo di Tinggawi, iurang tua Tinggawi.*
so return already marry MK Tinggawi person old Tinggawi
StInt SqB_1 SqB_2

So when she returned home she was married to Tinggawi, the headman Tinggawi.

In the following sentence the verb has the prefix *noko-* 'when' in the first constituent and the second constituent is juxtaposed to it.

2g *Nokouli nopo pangakan diti bakas di kasavo.*
return already eat this wild.pig LK marry
SqB_1 SqB_2

When she returned, she ate wild pork when she was married.

The following is a narrative sequence sentence with two subtypes of sequences. The first constituent is marked by *ko-* on the verb, and the second and third constituents are joined by *om* 'and then'.

2h *Korikoti siri valai ka iri, mangaino ponsuo om*
arrive there house RSP that do bathe and.then
SqB_1 SqB_2 SqLk
mangaino kulovungai do nulou.
do wrap MK cloth
SqB_3

When the man arrived at the house, they say, he bathed it and wrapped it in cloth.

Narrative Sequence Sentence$_3$

±Sent Intr	+Sequence Base$_1$	±Seq Lk	+Sequence Base$_2$
jadi 'so', *om* 'and', *nga* 'but'	a declarative verbal clause marked by *soira do* 'when'	*om* 'and then', *na* 'and then'	any declarative verbal clause whose time is subsequent to that of base$_1$

In the following reason sentence a narrative sequence sentence is embedded in the statement of the reason. The first sequence base is marked by *soira..do* 'when' and is joined to the second one by *na* 'then'.

2i *Nga soira..do kalabus mantad talun, na rumagang*
but when come.out from jungle and.then become.red
SqB_1 SqLk SqB_2

nono vagu, sabap barangkali iri nung siri talun au
already again because perhaps that if there jungle not

gia dii osidangan.
really EMPH expose.to.sun

But when it comes out of the jungle, then it becomes red again because perhaps if it is in the jungle it is not really exposed to the sun.

In the following sentence the first sequence base is marked by *soira..do* 'when' and is joined to the second one by the link *om* 'and'.

2j *Om soira..do mibagal..ko kitoruolko, inggalaanko tulu ka*
and when like ill.you,SG dizzy.you,SG head RSP
StInt SqB_1

atau..pun orualan nipon atau..pun kangkagan om misti..do
or pain tooth or fever and must
SqLk SqB_2

popoiloko di Miss sabap..nga angai di ioku di maso kupo
tell MK Miss because see LK I LK time yet.I

silo Nasuli nga orualan oku nipon.
there Nasuli then pain I tooth

And when it is like you are ill, you are dizzy, they say, or have toothache or fever; then you must tell the Miss because, take me for example, at the time that I was still at Nasuli then I had a toothache.

Narrative Sequence Sentence$_4$

+Seq Lk_1	+Sequence $Base_1$	+Seq Lk_2	+Sequence $Base_2$
sakalipo 'as soon as'	any clause or sentence	*om* 'and'	any clause or sentence occurring immediately after $base_1$

A narrative sequence sentence is embedded in the following coordinate sentence.

2k *Mongoi silo vaig diri om sakalipo tinumobung isidono om*
go there water that and as.soon.as sink she and
$SqLk_1$ SqB_1

kovulai dii, om najadino dii isido tondu do taandai.
come.out EMPH and become EMPH she woman who good
$SqLk_2$ SqB_2

She went to the water and as soon as she ducked under and came out, she became a beautiful woman.

Narrative Sequence Sentence$_5$

+Sequence Base$_1$	±Seq Lk	+Sequence Base$_2$
any clause or sentence in which the first word has the affix *pog-* 'as soon as'	*om* 'and'	any clause or sentence immediately after base$_1$

In the following sentence the affix *pog-* 'as soon as' occurs on the temporal stem *suvab* 'tomorrow'.

2l *Pogsuvab soro iri om noposikanno iinojo.*
as.soon.as.tomorrow that that and awake mother.her
SqB$_1$ SqLk SqB$_2$

As soon as it was morning, her mother was wakened.

In the following sentence the affix *pog-* 'as soon as' occurs on the root *patai* 'die'.

2m *Jadi pogpatai di Lintagu gajatono, pinoturon do*
so as.soon.as.die MK Ogre drag put.into MK
StInt SqB$_1$ SqB$_2$

torobong ka.
hole.in.ground RSP

So as soon as the Ogre had died, he dragged it and put it into a hole in the ground, they say.

2.2 Simultaneous sentences

There are several types of simultaneous sentences. The first type is marked by the clitic *-i* on the second of two words that are identical or very close semantically which occur in adjacent constituents. The second type of simultaneous sentence contains two clauses, the first of which is a temporal clause marked by a simultaneous marker such as: *bila* 'when', *tontok do*, *di maso* or *maso do* 'at the time that', *di timpuun* 'at the beginning' or simply *di* at the beginning of a constituent containing a verb with the affix *ko-* 'when'. In the third type of simultaneous sentence the second constituent is linked to the first by the simultaneous link *di* and the verb in the second constituent is optionally marked by the affix *ko-* 'when'.

Simultaneous Sentence$_1$

+Sim Intr	+Simultaneous Base$_1$	±Sim Lk	+Simultaneous Base$_2$
ontok 'time'	any declarative verbal clause	*ontoki* 'same time'	any declarative verbal clause

The following sentence contains an embedded simultaneous sentence in which simultaneity is marked by *ontok diri* 'at that time' in the first simultaneous base and *ontoki diri* 'at that very time' in the second simultaneous base.

3a *"Nga ada kouno pangakan do tuva dilo sompuun i roitan*
but don't you,PL eat MK fruit that one.tree LK call

tuva koilaan taandai om taraat, do bang aakan muju,
fruit know good and bad because if eat you,PL

ontok diri kapangakanan muju, ontoki diri do apatai
time that eat you,PL same.time that LK die
SmB_1 SmB_2

kou," ka.
you,PL RS

"But don't you eat the fruit of that tree called the fruit of knowing good and bad, because if you eat it, at the same time that you eat, at that very time you will die," he said.

Simultaneous Sentence$_2$

+Sim Intr	+Simultaneous Base$_1$	±Sim Lk	+Simultaneous Base$_2$
bila 'when', *tontok do* 'time that', *di* 'at', etc.	any declarative verbal clause	*nga* 'then' (different actor)	any declarative verbal clause

In the following sentence the first clause is marked by *bila* 'when' and the second constituent is joined to it by *nga* 'but, then (different actor)'.

3b *Bila kopongiup do mundok i vinaal do kinomol nga*
when drink MK cassava LK make MK cassava.beer then
SmB_1 SmLk

irino kuasa do rogon.
that.is power of demon
SmB_2

When they drink cassava that is made into beer, then that is the power of the demon.

In the following sentence the first clause is marked by *bila* 'when' but the second constituent has no link joining it to the first constituent.

3c *Bila tumuvongno siinono ka iri bubua*
when dark there RSP that headless.monster
SmI SmB_1 SmB_2

momborobokno ka iri pooguni.
make.bokbok.sound RSP that make.sound

"When it got dark there was the headless monster making a *bokbok* sound," they say, "it made a sound."

In the following sentence the first simultaneous base is marked by *tontok do* 'at the time that' and the affix *ko-* 'when' occurs on the verb.

3d *Om poingkaa nogi ilo mundok iri vinaal do kinomol*
and thus also that cassava that make MK cassava.beer

tontok..do kopongiup tokou do kinomol nga siri iri
at.the.time drink we,IN MK cassava.beer then there that
SmB_1 SmLk SmB_2

rogon.
demon

And thus also with cassava that is made into beer, at the time we drink it then the demon is there.

Simultaneous Sentence$_3$

±Sent Intr	+Simultaneous Base$_1$	+Sim Lk	+Simultaneous Base$_2$
abis 'after all', etc.	any declarative verbal clause	*di* 'at (that time)'	any declarative verbal clause

The following sentence contains an embedded simultaneous sentence. In the embedded sentence the second simultaneous base is marked by *di* and the affix *ko-* 'when' occurs on the verb.

3e *Nokouli nopo pangakan diti bakas di kasavo.*
return already eat this wild.pig LK marry
SmB_1 SmI SmB_2

When she had come home, she ate wild pork while she was married.

The following sentence contains a simultaneous sentence which is embedded in the amplification of an embedded amplification sentence.

3f *Nga insan irad dii kosusaan diolo aui rumorogo iolo*
but even.if like EMPH difficulty their not repent they

sabap au kotutun iolo di kuasa do rogon, abis au
because not recognize they MK power of demon after.all not
StInt SmB_1

okito diolo iri rogon pointanggu siri diolo di maso
see they that demon wait there them MK time
SmI SmB_2

mongiup.
drink

But even if they have trouble like that they do not repent because they do not recognize the power of the demon; after all they cannot see that demon beside them while they are drinking.

2.3 Terminating sequence sentences

There are two types of terminating sequence sentences. The first type is one in which a time or location constituent is marked with a link such as *sampai, sampai do* or *gosom/gisom* 'up to, until'. In the second type the second constituent is marked with the connector *om baru do* or *om baru nogi* 'and only then'.

Terminating Sequence Sentence$_1$

+Statement	+Term Lk	+Terminating Sequence
Any clause or sentence	*sampai/sampai* *do, gosob* */gisob,* etc. 'until'	Any clause or sentence where the action of the previous clause stops

The following sentence consists of a terminating sequence sentence embedded in the reason of a reason sentence. The terminating sequence sentence is time oriented.

4a *Jadi tau, tauno do iino dii sampai nosuvabanno*
so not.know not.know because that EMPH until morning
STM TmLk TmSq

kabo owo, minliput.
AnsMk friend go.round.and.round
STM(cont)

So I don't know because that was all it did, all night until the morning, friend, it went around and around.

The following sentence consists of a time oriented terminating sequence sentence embedded in the first base of a juxtaposed sentence.

4b *Kiinam sooro ino sumusu gisom..do nokoodop i tongondu, au*
try it that nurse until sleep MK woman not
STM TmLk TmSq

dii lumangkab ka.
EMPH let.go RSP

It started to nurse until the woman fell asleep, it did not let go, they say.

The following narrative sequence sentence contains an embedded terminating sequence sentence which is location oriented.

4c *Jadi kolivangno vagu iri kogiu, om manabidno isidono,*
so go.out again that orangutan and make.rope he

om popoindodoouon disido sampai..do korikot si tana.
and cause.to.hang.down he until reach there ground
STM TmLk TmSq

So when the orangutan left he worked on making the rope and he let it hang down until it reached the ground.

Terminating Sequence Sentence$_2$

+Statement	+Term Lk	+Terminating Sequence
any clause or sentence	*om baru nogi* */om baru do* */ampa nogi* 'and only then'	any clause or sentence that begins after previous one is terminated

The following two sentences show the second type of terminating sequence sentence with the terminating marker *baru nogi* and *baru do* 'only then' respectively.

4d *Korikot Manila koodop silo sonsodop om baru..nogi*
arrive Manila sleep there one.night and only.then
STM TmLk

lumombus do kumaa silo Kagayan Oro.
proceed LK go there Cagayan de.Oro
TmSq

When you arrive in Manila, you sleep there one night and only then you proceed on to go to Cagayan de Oro.

4e *Nga bang majako do tongokawan-kawan do*
then if accompany.you,SG MK friends PUR

minsodu do mongoi soi kampung misti..do dumuatko di
go.far PUR go there village must ask.you,SG MK
STM

Miss gulu om baru..do majako ....
Miss first and only.then accompany.you,SG
TmLk TmSq

Then if you accompany friends to go far away to go to a village you must ask the Miss first, and only then you go with them, ...

3. Quotation-oriented sentences

Four types of sentences are grouped together here. These sentences are similar in that the last constituents are marked similarly to direct objects of the initial clause.

3.1 Direct quotation sentence

A direct quotation sentence repeats what someone said. The quoted words are bracketed by a verb of speaking such as *mitangar* 'speak', *mongoduat* 'ask', etc. occurring before the quotation and the closing quotation formula *ka* 'say' which may be expanded by repeating part of the direct quotation formula. The quotation is usually marked by a link such as *do* 'that', *do ka* 'that says', *irad diti* 'like this' *poingkaa* thus' or *ka om* (*ka'm*) 'saying'.

Direct Quotation Sentence

+Dir Quot Lk Formula	±Dir Quot Lk	+Dir Quot	+Clos Quot Form
any clause or sentence whose last verb is a verb of 'saying' or 'emotion' with no object	*do* 'that', *do ka* 'that saying', *poingkaa* 'thus', *irad diti* 'like this', *ka om/ka'm* 'saying'	any word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph or discourse	*ka* 'say', *kadino* 'that one said', etc.

The following sentence contains an embedded quotation sentence in which the direct quotation formula is linked to the quotation by *ka om* (*ka'm*) 'saying', and is closed with the basic closing quotation formula *ka* 'say'.

5a *Om kavagupo· varo nogi nokotulis nga ... boros ka'm*
and furthermore there.is also write but speak RS,and
DQtF DQtLk

"Ada kouno gavul di tulun di mampangavuk," ka,
don't you,PL mix MK people LK drunk RS
DQt CQtF

"sabap..nga nong kagavul tokou di tulun do mibagal diri do
because if mix we,IN MK people LK like that LK

i mampangavuk nga mimang kaavaja tokou, olungkadi i
MK drunk then of.course follow we,IN draw MK

ginavo tokou do kavaja di kovovojoon di tulun."
heart our,IN LK follow MK ways of people

And furthermore there is also something written ..., but it says, "Don't you mix with drunkards," it says, "because if we mix with people like that who get drunk, then of course we follow; our hearts will be drawn to follow the ways of the people."

In the following sentence there is no link joining the direct quotation formula to the quotation, but there is a reported speech particle *ka* 'they say' (which indicates that this is a folktale). The closing quotation formula is expanded to *kadino* 'that one said', and another reported speech particle *ka* 'they say' is added[2].

5b *Nga kadiri kusai ka, "Umbalanpo posusu nong*
but RS,that man RSP try cause.to.nurse if
StInt DQtF DQtLk DQt

sumusu," kadino ka.
nurse RS,he RSP
CQtF

But that man said, they say, "Try to make it nurse to see if it will nurse," he said, they say.

In the following sentence the direct quotation formula is linked to the quotation by the direct quotation link *do* 'that'.

5c *Korikot isido dino siri kalalangan talun, nokoontong dii*
arrive he that there never.cut jungle saw EMPH

isido do tanak, ii ouruvan marong ka iri kusai do,
he MK child oh please very RS that man LK
DQtF DQtLk

"Kivarono dii tanakku," kadino diri ka.
There.is EMPH child.my RS,that that RSP
DQt CQtF

When he arrived in the virgin jungle, he saw a child, oh, the man was so pleased, they say, that (he said), "Now I have a child," he said, they say.

[2] The reported speech particle *ka* is homophonous with the *ka* of reported speech used in the direct quotation formula and the closing quotation formula. It differs from the latter in that it is a free form whereas the *ka* of reported speech is phonologically bound to the following word if one occurs. If no word occurs following it, it is phonologically bound to the previous word.

3.2 Indirect quotation sentences

There are two sub-types of sentences included under indirect quotation. In each of these sentences the surface structure is similar. A connecting particle or marker *do* 'which, that' connects the first constituent with the second constituent.

3.2.1 Indirect quotation sentence

An indirect quotation itself is similar to a direct quotation in that it has a verb of speaking such as *momogos* 'forbid' or *kopiupakat* 'discuss'. It differs from a direct quotation in that there is no closing quotation formula. The indirect quotation does not seem to have overt pronouns but these can be inferred from the indirect quotation formula.

Indirect Quotation Sentence

+Indirect Quotation Formula	±Ind Quot Lk	+Indirect Quotation
Any clause or sentence whose last verb is like a verb of saying, e.g. forbid, discuss, etc.	*do/di* 'that'	Indirect quotation which may have different affixes on the verb.

In the following sentence an indirect quotation sentence is embedded in the reason of reason sentence. The indirect quotation formula *momogos* 'forbid' occurs with the link *do* 'that'.

6a *Na oilaan tokou maino sabap..do minomogos i Kinoroingan*
then know we,IN now because forbid MK God
IQtF

diAdam om iIva do mangakan di tuva do okon nogi
MK,Adam and MK,Eve that eat MK fruit that not also
IQtLk IQt

do apatai iolo do kaakan di tuva topi irino do modi
that die they because eat MK fruit but that LK perhaps

i Kinoroingan do iolo disido.
MK God that they him

Then we know now because God forbade Adam and Eve to eat the fruit; that they did not die when they had eaten the fruit, but that was perhaps that as for God they separated from him.

The following sentence contains an embedded indirect quotation similar to the one above except that the indirect quotation contains a negative command. The form of the negative command used here is *mada* 'don't' instead of the usual *ada* 'don't' used in direct quotations.

6b *Oinomodno kosuladanku tikid-tikid barang kapamagasan do*
true brothers.my each thing forbid MK
IQtF

Kinoroingan do mada do akanon nga sisiiri iri rogon do
God that don't LK eat then there that demon PUR
IQtLk IQt

pointamong do momujuk do ginavo do tulun.
look.after PUR persuade MK heart of people

It's true, my brothers, everything that is forbidden by God that we must not eat; then there is the demon watching to persuade the hearts of people.

3.2.2 Sensation sentence

A sensation sentence is similar to an indirect quotation in that the link *do* 'that' occurs between the sensation formula and the sensation quotation. Sensation verbs are those such as know, feel, see, hear, want, etc.

Sensation Sentence

±Sent Intr	+Sensation Formula	+Sens Lk	+Sensation Quotation
nga 'but', etc.	Any clause or sentence whose final verb is a verb of sensation	*do/di* 'that'	Any clause, sentence or paragraph

In the following sentence the sensation verb *oiranan* 'surprised' occurs.

7a *Nga oiranan i kusai ka do alaidno om au dii*
but surprise MK man RSP that long.time and no EMPH
StInt SsFm SsLk SsQt

opoposik ka iri savojo diri, nga pagka..do irad diri
awake RSP that wife.his that but because.of.that like that

ongoiono posikai di kusai.
go awake MK man

Then the man was surprised, they say, because it was a long time and his wife did not awake, then because of that, the man went to awaken her.

The following sentence contains a sensation sentence embedded in the reason of a reason sentence. The sensation sentence functions as an amplification sentence with the verb *moo* 'want' occurring both in the statement and in the amplification.

7b *Sulodku, poingkaa nogi ilo mundok i navaal do*
brother.my thus also that cassava MK make MK

kinomol, navaal do tiiupon, do au moo isido do
cassava.beer make MK drink because not want he that
SsFm SsLk

korijang tokou, au moo isido do kivaro si pialatan
separate we,IN not want he that there.is there amongst
SsQt SsFm SsLk SsQt

tokou do koompot do ukuman mivaja di rogon.
we,IN who include MK judgment accompany MK demon

My brothers, it is thus also with cassava that is made into beer, that is made into a drink; because he does not want us to separate from him, he does not want there to be anyone among us who will be included in the judgment along with the demons.

In the following sentence the sensation verb *kopuriman* 'feel' occurs in the sensation formula and the sensation link *di* occurs.

7c *Koduvo: Au kopuriman tokou di momoluan do tinan tokou.*
secondly not feel we,IN LK shame MK body our,IN
SsFm SsLk SsQt

Secondly: We do not feel that we are ashamed of our bodies.

In the following sentence the sensation verb *uuvang* 'like, want' occurs in the sensation formula which is linked to the sensation quotation by the link *do*.

7d *Uuvang marong ka iolo dino mingoduvo do kitanak.*
like very RSP they that be.a.pair that have.child
SsFm SsLk SsQt

They were very pleased, both of them, that they had a child.

3.3 Indirect question sentence

An indirect question is a question that is embedded in another sentence. It may consist of a question word only, it may be a sentence introduced by a question word or it may be a yes-no question. The indirect question is always preceded by the word *nong /nung* 'if'.

Indirect Question Sentence

+Indirect Question Formula	+Ind Ques Mk	+Indirect Question
Any clause or sentence	*nong*	Any question word, any clause beginning with a question word or any clause representing a yes-no question

In the following sentence the only word in the indirect question is *sinonggo* 'where'.

8a *Aa'ku dii oilaan nong sinonggo.*
not.I EMPH know if where
IQF IQMk IQ

I don't know where it is.

In the following sentence there are two indirect questions the first of which is introduced by the word *potingkuro* 'how' and the second is a negative yes-no question.

8b *Ongoio muju lilingo i lobong, kubur, nong potingkuro dino*
go you,PL check MK grave grave if how that
$IQMk_1$ IQ_1

nong auso linumabus.
if none come.out
$IQMk_2$ IQ_2

You go and check the grave to see how it is, whether anything has come out.

4. Logical structure sentences

4.1 Coordinate sentence

A coordinate sentence is characterized by the use of the conjunction *om* 'and' which joins two or more constituents together to form a sentence. The parts of the sentence joined by *om* are alike in that they are both commands, quotations, sensations, etc. A coordinate sentence may be independent or may embedded in any of the main constituents of another sentence.

Coordinate Sentence

+ Coordinate $Base_1$	(+ Coor Lk	+ Coordinate $Base_2)^n$
Any clause or sentence	*om* 'and'	Any similar clause or sentence (i.e. both quotations, commands, etc.)

The following two sentences are coordinate sentences joined by *om* 'and'.

9a *Monosolpo dii iri kusai ka om napataino dii*
regret EMPH that man RSP and die EMPH
CrB_1 CrLk CrB_2

savojo.
spouse.his

The man regretted it, they say, and his wife died.

9b *Isoon karaja om isoon do mongoi mandam do kawan.*
one work and one that go visit MK friend
CrB_1 CrLk CrB_2

There is one time for work and one time for visiting friends.

The following is a coordinate sentence embedded in the reason of a reason sentence.

9c *Irino ogumu koonuan do sapi, do ilo tonsi disido*
that many reason.to.get MK cow because that meat its
CrB_1

nga iii ounonom kopijo, om alakupo dino padagangon.
then oh delicious very and sell.well that cause.to.sell
CrLk CrB_2

There are many reasons for getting a cow because its meat is oh so delicious, and it sells well when it is sold.

4.2 Antithetical sentence

Antithetical sentences are formed from two constituents, the first of which is the thesis of the sentence and the second is the antithesis. The two constituents are joined in several ways. The usual way to link antithetical constituents is by an antithetical link *nga* 'but' or *topi* 'but'. The two clauses of the sentence sometimes are merely juxtaposed. At other times they may be linked by *suvai..ko* 'on the other hand' or *sumala kapo do* 'other than'.

Antithetical Sentence

±Sent Intr	+Thesis	±Adversative Link	+Antithesis
nga 'but', etc.	Any clause or sentence	*nga* 'but', *tapi/topi* 'but', *suvai ko* 'on the other hand', *sumala kapo do* 'other than'	Any clause or sentence

In the following sentence the contrast is marked by *nga* 'but'. The word *masii* is emphasized hence the English translation 'still' is underlined to show the emphasis.

10a *Nga au okui nosobutan, nga masii oruol.*
but not I pull.out but still sore
StInt TH AdvLk ATH

It was not pulled out for me, but it was still sore.

In the following antithetical sentence there is no link between the antithetical constituents.

10b *Korikot silo aupo korikot kopijo sii indadawon.*
arrive there not.yet arrive very there waiting.place
TH ATH

When you arrive there you have not yet really arrived at the place where you will stay.

In the following antithetical sentence the antithetical constituents are joined by *suvai..ko* 'on the other hand'.

10c *Nga adako mongoi sumosoiso suvai..ko bang auso*
but don't.you,SG go alone on.other.hand if none
StInt TH AdvLk ATH

dika..do kawan majako di Miss do mongoi monsu
your,SG friend accompany.you,SG MK Miss PUR go bathe

sabap..nga nung sosongulunko mongoi bang nolonodko
because if one.person.you,SG go if drown.you,SG

isai dii nokoilo do auso nokoontong dika.
who EMPH know because none saw you,SG

But don't go alone; on the other hand, if you have no friend accompany the Miss to go bathing, because if you go alone, if you drown who would know because no one would have seen you.

In the following sentence the antithetical constituents are joined by *sumala kapo do* 'other than'.

10d *Popoilo di Miss sabap..nga ausono irad sulodnu ko*
tell MK Miss because none like relative.your,SG or
TH

irad..do tamanu do silo sodu sumala..kapo..do i
like relative.your,SG MK there far other.than MK
AdvLk ATH

Miss vovojoonnu.
Miss accompany.you,SG

Tell the Miss because there is no one like your relatives or like your father far away there; other than the Miss that you have accompanied.

4.3 Alternative sentences

Alternative sentences are those which offer two or more alternatives. The alternatives must be in simple clauses that are grammatically similar. There are four types of alternative sentences. The most common type is one where two alternatives are joined by *ko* or *atau* 'or'. If there are more than two alternatives they are joined by *ko* 'or' or *atau pun* 'or else'. A second alternative sentence is one that is embedded which is introduced by *manaku do* 'whether'. A third type of alternative sentence is one where two similar clauses are linked by *do* meaning 'whether ... or'.

Alternative Sentence$_1$

+ Alternative Base$_1$	+ (+ Alt Lk	+ Alternative Base$_2$)^n
Any clause or sentence	*ko* 'or', *atau pun* 'or else'	Any clause or sentence similar to the first

The following sentence contains an embedded alternative sentence with three bases linked by *ko* 'or'.

11a *Soira..do okito di rogon iri tulun do mamatai ko*
when see MK demon that person who fight or
AB_1 AltLk

moguod ko manawar, adiii, koirak kopijo gia
destroy or speak.incantations oh.my laugh very indeed
AB_2 AltLk AB_3

isido do aandaian marong isido irad dii do
he because like very he like EMPH because

koontong om ourumat gia isido.
see and honor really he

When the demon sees that person fighting, being destructive, or speaking incantations; oh my, he really laughs, because he really likes very much to see that and he is being honored.

The following sentence contains an embedded alternative sentence with bases linked by *atau pun* 'or else'.

11b *Om soira.do mibagal..ko kitoruolko, inggalaanko tulu ka*
and when like ill.you,SG dizzy.you,SG head RSP
AB_1

atau..pun orualan nipon atau..pun kangkagan om misti.do
or pain tooth or fever and must
AltLk AB_2 AltLk AB_3

popoiloko di Miss sabap..nga angai di ioku di maso kupo
tell MK Miss because see MK I at time yet.I

silo Nasuli nga orualan oku nipon.
there Nasuli then pain I tooth

And when it is like you are ill, you are dizzy, they say, or have toothache or fever; then you must tell the Miss because, take me for example, at the time that I was still at Nasuli then I had a toothache.

The following reason sentence has an embedded alternative sentence.

11c *Popoilo di Miss sabap..nga ausono irad sulodnu ko*
tell MK Miss because none like relative.your or
AB_1 AltLk

irad..do tamanu do silo sodu sumala..kapo..do i Miss
like father.your that there far other.than MK Miss
AB_2

vovojoonnu.
accompany.you

Tell the Miss because there is no one like your relatives or like your father, because you are far away, other than the Miss whom you accompany.

The following sensation sentence has an alternative sentence embedded in the sensation quotation.

11d *Mimang oilaan tokou do okoniko koiupi do mundok om*
of.course know we,IN that not drink MK cassava and

kivaro araat i suvang ginavo tokou ko varo lumabus
there.is bad MK in hearts our,IN or there.is go.out
AB_1 AltLk AB_2

si daton do araat, nga irino sabap..nga ilo nogi nga iso
there us LK bad but that.is because that also then one

puun ko koontodo do mangaraag do ginavo tokou, mangaraag
root or source of destroy MK hearts our,IN destroy

do kovovojoon tokou.
MK ways our,IN

Of course we know that it is not from drinking beer that we have badness in our hearts or that we have badness coming out of us, but that is because that also is one root or source of something that destroys our hearts and destroys our ways.

Alternative Sentence$_2$

±Alt Intr	+Alternative Base$_1$	±Alt Lk	+Alternative Base$_2$
manaku do 'whether'	Any clause or sentence	*ko* 'or'	Any clause or sentence which which contrasts with the first one
When *manaku do* occurs *ko* also must occur.			

The following sentence has an embedded alternative sentence marked by an introducer *manaku do* 'whether' and the alternative link *ko* 'or'.

11e *Koiso: Au kopuriman tokou di tatangaron ontok..di poingavuk,*
first not feel we,IN LK speak when drunk

manaku..do aandai ko araat om au kopuriman tokou diri
whether good or bad and not feel we,IN that
AltInt AB_1 AltLk AB_2

taandai di avaal do koruang.
good which do by friend

First: We do not feel what we are speaking when we are drunk, whether it is good or bad and we do not feel the good that is done by a friend.

An alternative sentence is embedded in the following juxtaposed sentence. Both the alternative introducer and alternative link are missing from the embedded sentence.

11f *Om ati valaiku apakai au apakai iti valaiku itaakkuno*
and this house.my use not use this house.my give.I
AB_1 AB_2
disido.
him

As for this house of mine, whether he uses it or not, I am giving it to him.

Alternative Sentence$_3$

+ Alternative Base$_1$	+ Alt Lk	+ Alternative Base$_2$
Any clause or sentence	*do* 'whether...or'	Any clause or sentence similar in structure to the first alternative base

The following two sentences are alternative sentences marked by the morpheme *do* 'whether...or' which occurs between the two main clauses.

11g *Mingkakat do oku nga migit-igitko dogo.*
stand whether...or I then hold.to.you me
AB_1 AltLk

Whether I am standing up or sitting down you keep on holding onto me.

11h *Kitoruol oku do poinjiil oku nga au okui piantangai*
ill I whether...or be.in.jail I then not I see
AB_1 AltLk AB_2
dikovu.
you,PL

Whether I am sick or in prison you don't visit me.

4.4 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences are marked by one of the protasis markers *bang* or *nung* 'if'. Conditional sentences may be embedded in other sentences such as reason or narrative sequence sentences.

Conditional Sentence$_1$

+ Prot Mk	+ Conditional Protasis	± Apod Mk	+ Conditional Apodosis
bang/nung/nong 'if'	Any clause or sentence	*jadi* 'so', *nga* 'then'	Any clause or sentence

In the following sentence there are two embedded conditional sentences. The first is embedded in the statement of a reason sentence which is embedded in the antithesis of an antithetical sentence. The protasis of the first conditional sentence contains a negative existential. The second conditional sentence is embedded in the reason of the reason sentence and there are two juxtaposed conditional protases marked by *nung* and *bang* respectively.

12a *Nga adako mongoi sumosoiso suvai..ko bang auso*
but don't.you,SG go alone on.other.hand if none
PrMk CdPr

dika.do kawan majako di Miss do mongoi monsu
your,SG friend accompany.you,SG MK Miss PUR go bathe
CdAp

sabap..nga nung sosongulunko mongoi bang
because if one.person.you,SG go if
$PrMk_1$ $CdPr_1$ $PrMk_2$

nolonodko isai dii nokoilo do auso nokoontong
drown.you,SG who EMPH know because none see
$CdPr_2$ CdAp

dika.
you,SG

But don't go alone, on the other hand, if you have no friend, accompany the Miss to go bathing because if you go alone if you drown who would know because no one would have seen you.

The following result sentence has an embedded conditional sentence. The protasis has two clauses in apposition and the apodosis is an embedded rhetorical question.

12b *Jadi bang mindadako aunu poiloon i Miss jadi*
so if quiet.you,SG not.you,SG tell MK Miss so.then
PrMk CdPr CdAp

poingkuro gia dii i Miss koilo di dika toruol.
how in.fact EMPH MK Miss know MK your,SG sick

So if you keep quiet, you don't tell the Miss, then how in fact would she know about your sickness.

The following sentence is a coordinate sentence with an embedded conditional sentence in each of the coordinate bases. The protases of the embedded conditional sentences are marked with *nung* 'if' and *bang* 'if' respectively and the apodoses are both marked with *nga* 'then'.

12c *Koiso kavagu nung kivaro pokitudukon di Miss mibagal..ko*
first again if there.is ask.to.teach MK Miss like
PrMk CdPr

daton..do tangar om aunu oilaan nga misti..do
our,IN language and not.you,SG know then must
ApoMk CdAp

soromoon pogulu om bang au moi oilaan nga
think first and if not perhaps know then
PrMk CdPr ApoMk

kuoyonpo dii.
nothing.to.do EMPH
CdAp

Furthermore, if there is something that the Miss asks to be taught, like our language, and you don't know; then you must think first and if you don't know, then, nothing can be done about it.

In the following sentence the protasis is marked with *nung* 'if' and has an embedded coordinate sentence.

12d *Nung aragang iri vulujo mantad om kakaa sino talun,*
if red that hair.its before and go there jungle
PrMk CdPr

aantangan topo nga oitom nono.
see yet.we,DU then black already
CdAp

If its hair is red to begin with and it goes into the jungle, we will see that it is black.

Conditional Sentence$_2$

+Conditional Apodosis	+Prot Mk	+Conditional Protasis
Any clause or sentence	*bang/nung/nong* 'if'	Any clause or sentence

In the following sentence there are three conditional sentences. The first and third conditional sentences are both type two conditional sentences which are embedded in other sentences. The first conditional sentence is embedded in the thesis of an antithetical sentence. The third conditional sentence is embedded in the reason of a reason sentence which in turn is embedded in the antithesis of the antithetical sentence.

12e *Nga dinumuat ikoi di Kodoh masuk karaja nga kadi Kodoh,*
Then ask we MK Kodoh enter work then say Kodoh

"Obuli bang sampai..do alaid kou kumaraja tapi bang duvo
can if until long.time you work but if two
CdAp PrMk CdPr

atau tolu vulan au kou buli kumaraja sabap ilo upis
or three months not you can work because that office
CdAp

au maganu tulun bang au atatap kumaraja," (ka).
not get people if not steady work
PrMk CdPr

But we asked Kodoh about getting work, then Kodoh said, "You can if you work for a long time, but if it is for only two or three months, you cannot work because that office does not take people if they do not work permanently."

4.5 Contrafactual sentence

A contrafactual sentence is similar to a conditional sentence but both parts are false. The apodosis precedes the protasis which is marked with *nung* 'if'.

Contrafactual Sentence

+Contrafactual Apodosis	+Contra Mk	+Contrafactual Protasis
Any clause or sentence	*nong* 'if'	Any clause or sentence
If a negative occurs in the contrafactual apodosis a negative must also occur in the contrafactual protasis.		

The following two examples illustrate contrafactuality.

13a *Au ovijau ialo nong okonko ioku.*
not live he if not me
CtAp CtMk CtPr
He would not be alive if it were not for me.

13b *Pojiilon mongiduvo nong ioku urang tua.*
cause.jail be.two if I person old
CtAp CtMk CtPr
I would put them both in jail if I were the headman.

4.6 Concessive sentences

A concessive sentence is introduced by the word *insan* 'even if' or *insanpo mai* 'although' in the protasis which occurs first in the sentence.

Concessive Sentence$_1$

±Sent Intr	+Conc Mk	+Concessive Protasis	+Concessive Apodosis
nga 'but'	*insan* 'although, even if'	Any clause or sentence	Any clause or sentence

In the following example the apodosis of the concessive sentence expresses frustration using a negated verb. There are several embedded sentences in the concessive apodosis.

14a *Nga insan irad dii kosusaan diolo aui rumorogo iolo*
but even.if like EMPH difficulty their not repent they
StInt CcMk CcPr CcAp

sabap au kotutun iolo di kuasa do rogon, abis au
because not recognize they MK power of demon after.all not

okito diolo iri rogon pointanggu siri diolo di maso mongiup.
see they that demon beside there them at time drink

But even if they have troubles like that, they do not repent because they do not recognize the power of the demon; after all they cannot see the demon beside them while they are drinking.

The following is a concessive sentence with no embedded sentences.

14b *Insan ikoi do arajin ikoji nga okoni kadapat nakaada*
although we,EX LK diligent we,EX but not can.get abandon
CcMk CcPr CcLk CcAp

silo tana.
there ground

Although as for us we are diligent, but we cannot get what was abandoned on the ground.

Concessive Sentence$_2$

+Conc Mk	+Concessive Protasis	+Conc Lk	+Concessive Apodosis
insan 'although, even though'	Any clause or sentence	*ko* 'but not'	Any clause or sentence

In the following sentence the concessive marker *insan* 'although, even though' could perhaps be translated as 'not even'. The concessive link *ko* seems to be related to counterexpectation marker (see Section 4.10).

14c *Ikovu nogi kondiri do insan iso tunturu muju*
you,PL also yourselves LK even.though one finger your,PL
CcMk CcPr

ko poigiton do monulung diolo do mamabo.
but.not hold.onto LK hold them MK carry.on.back
CcLk CcAp

As for you yourselves, for even though (you have) one of your fingers, but you do not hold onto it to help them carry it.

4.7 Reason sentences

A reason sentence consists of a statement and the reason for the statement. There are four types of reason sentences. In the first type the statement occurs first in the sentence and the reason is introduced by one of the following links all of which mean 'because': *do*, *sabap*, *sabap do*, *sabap nga*. The link *do* is by far the most common one. In the second type of reason sentence the reason link *sabap do* or *do* 'because' and the reason occur first followed by an optional statement link and the statement. In the third type the reason link *sabap* occurs first followed by the statement and finally by the reason. In the fourth type the reason occurs first followed by the reason link *sabap diri do* 'because of that' and the statement occurs sentence finally.

Reason Sentence$_1$

±Sent Intr	±Statement	+Reason Link	+Reason
nga 'but'	Any clause or sentence	*do/sabap* *do/sabap/sabap nga* 'because'	Any clause or sentence

The following sentence has an embedded coordinate sentence in the reason clause which is introduced by *do* 'because'.

15a *Irino ogumu koonuan do sapi, do ilo tonsi disido*
that.is many reason.to.get MK cow because that flesh its
STM RsLk R

nga iii ounonom kopijo, om alakupo dino padagangon.
then oh delicious very and sell.well that sell

There are many reasons for getting a cow, because its flesh is so very delicious and it sells well if it is sold.

The following antithetical sentence has two reason sentences embedded in it. Both the statement and the reason of the first reason sentence have embedded conditional sentences. The reason is introduced by *sabap nga* 'because'. The second reason sentence is embedded in the apodosis of the second conditional sentence and the reason link is *do* 'because'.

15b *Nga adako mongoi sumosoiso suvai..ko bang auso*
but don't.you,SG go alone on.other.hand if none
STM

dika..do kawan majako di Miss do mongoi monsu
your,SG friend accompany.you,SG MK Miss PUR go bathe

sabap..nga nung sosongulunko mongoi bang nolonodko
because if one.person.you,SG go if drown.you,SG
RsLk R

isai dii nokoilo do auso nokoontong dika.
who EMPH know because none see you,SG
STM RsLk R

But don't go alone, on the other hand if you have no friend accompany the Miss to go bathing; because if you go alone, if you drown who would know because no one would have seen you.

In the following sentence the reason link *sabap do* occurs followed by the reason.

15c *Itino ngavi sabap..do tikid-tikid do tulun do tumanud disido*
this.is all because each MK person who follow him
STM RsLk R

do mongilag pasal dilo mongiup do mundok supaya..do au
that avoid about that drink MK cassava PUR not

kalanggar om au avajaan tokou i karaaton do ginavo tokou.
break and not follow we,IN MK bad of heart our,IN

This is all because each person who follows him avoids drinking cassava beer, so that we will not break (the law) and will not follow the badness of our hearts.

Reason Sentence$_2$

+Reas Lk	+Reason	±Stat Lk	+Statement
sabap do/sabap 'because'	Any clause or sentence	om 'and then'	Any clause or sentence

In the following sentence a reason sentence is embedded in the antithesis of an antithetical sentence. The reason link is *sabap do* 'because' and the reason is connected to the statement by the link *om* 'and'.

15d ... *nga sabap..do au iolo minangarap di nibilin do*
but because not they trust LK command MK
RsLk R

Kinoroingan soira nobujukan di rogon sinumangalu do
God when persuade MK demon impersonate MK

vulanut om pangakanno dii iolo.
snake and.then eat EMPH they
StmLk STM

... but because they did not trust in the command of God, when they were persuaded by the demon that impersonated a snake, then they ate it.

Reason Sentence$_3$

+Reas Lk	+Statement	+Reason
sabap 'because'	Any clause or sentence	Any clause or sentence

A reason sentence is embedded in the following narrative sequence sentence. The reason sentence is introduced by *sabap* 'because'.

15e *Nga soira..do kalabus mantad talun, nga rumagang nono*
but when come.out from jungle then red already

vagu, sabap barangkali iri nung siri talun, au gia
again because perhaps that if there jungle not really
RsLk STM R

dii osidangan.
EMPH expose.to.sun

But when it comes out of the jungle, then it becomes red again, that is probably because if it is in the jungle it does not really get exposed to the sun.

Reason Sentence$_4$

+Reason	+Reason Link	+Statement
Any clause or sentence	*sabap diri do* 'because of that'	Any clause or sentence

In the following reason sentence the reason link is *sabap diri do* 'because of that' points back to the reason which is given first.

15f *Kivaro ka iri misasavo, iri nopo tongondu nga opori,*
there.was RSP those spouse that LK woman LK diligent

nga iri nopo kusai nga oobul sabap..diri..do minogidu iri
but that LK man LK lazy because.of.that run.away that
R RsLk STM

savo tongondu kinumiada diri kusai, savojo sabap..do au
spouse woman divorce that man spouse.her because not

dii kaakan ka.
EMPH eat RSP

Once upon a time there was a couple, as for the woman she was diligent, but as for the man he was lazy; because of that the wife ran away and divorced her husband because she had nothing to eat, they say.

4.8 Result sentence

A result sentence consists of a statement and a result. The result is marked by *jadi* 'so, and so'.

Result Sentence

±Sent Intr	+Statement	+Resu Lk	+Result
jadi 'so'	Any clause or sentence	*jadi* 'so then'	Any clause or sentence

The following result sentence has a purpose sentence embedded in the statement and the result is marked by the result link *jadi* 'so'.

16a *Maja vagu kapal..tarabang do kumaa silo Nasuli, jadi*
follow again airplane PUR go there Nasuli so
STM RsLk
silono Nasuli ingkojodon.
there Nasuli stop/rest
RU

Take a plane again in order to go to Nasuli, so then it's in Nasuli that you stay.

The following result sentence contains an embedded conditional sentence. The statement of the result sentence is encoded as a conditional protasis and the result which is a rhetorical question is encoded as the apodosis of the embedded conditional sentence. The statement and result are linked by the result link *jadi* 'so, and so'.

16b *Jadi bang mindadako aunu poiloon i Miss jadi*
so if quiet.you,SG not.you,SG tell MK Miss so.then
StInt STM RsLk
poingkuro gia dii i Miss koilo di dika toruol.
how in.fact EMPH MK Miss know MK your,SG sick
RU

So if you keep quiet, you don't tell the Miss, so then how in fact would the Miss know about your sickness.

4.9 Purpose sentence

A purpose sentence consists of a statement followed by a purpose. The purpose is marked by *do*, *supaya* or *supaya do* 'so that, in order that'.

Purpose Sentence

±Sent Intr	+Statement	+Purp Lk	+Purpose
na 'then', *om* 'and', *nga* 'but', *jadi* 'so'	Any clause or sentence	*do/supaya/supaya do* 'so that, in order to'	Any clause or sentence

The following sentence has a statement followed by two purpose clauses.

17a *Na koilo i Miss turus..do ovito oku do kumaa silo*
then know MK Miss at.once bring I in.order.to go there
StInt STM PuLk$_1$ PuCl$_1$

Mauntin Vieu do mokiatag di nipon.
Mountain View in.order.to ask.for.repair MK tooth
PuLk$_2$ PuCl$_2$

Then when the Miss knew, at once I was taken to Mountain View (Hospital) in order to ask for the tooth to be repaired.

In the following sentence the purpose clause of the sentence is comprised of an embedded coordinate sentence.

17b *Om obuli nogi pabalajaron ilo sapi do mangaradu om*
and can also teach that cow in.order.to plough and
StInt STM PuLk PuCl

pasakaan do barang.
put.on MK things

And cows can also be taught to plough and carry things on their backs.

The following sentence is a purpose sentence.

17c *Jadi lumiput ikoi dii om supaya ojigan iri*
so go.around we,EX EMPH and so.that avoid that
StInt STM PuLk PuCl

minoguni dii.
make.a.noise EMPH

So we went around, in order to avoid that thing that made the noise.

A purpose sentence is deeply embedded in the similarity constituent of the following similarity sentence. The purpose constituent has an embedded coordinate sentence.

17d *Jadi iri nopo..nga inong..do iso sorita do iri 'balas kasih',*
so that LK like one story MK that return love

'tolong sama tolong', sabap iri nopo kilau dii mula-mula
help with help because that LK ant EMPH at.first

naratu isido si vaig, moo matai, tapi nosianan iri punai,
fall it there water want die but pity that dove

ongoi disido do roun supaya..do sinumako iri kilau sodi roun
go it MK leaf so.that get.on that ant there leaf
STM PuLk PuCl

om au dii napatai isido.
and not EMPH die it

So that is like a story about 'paying back love', 'helping one another', because as for that ant, at first it fell in the water, and was about to die; but that dove pitied it and got a leaf, so that the ant climbed up on the leaf, and did not die after all.

4.10 Counterexpectation sentence

A counterexpectation sentence is one in which the expected result is not achieved. The counterexpectation is marked by *ko* which can be translated 'instead of' or 'but not'.

Counterexpectation Sentence

+Statement	+Count Lk	+Counterexpectation
Any clause or sentence	*ko* 'instead of, but not'	Any clause where the verb indicates an action with an unexpected result

In the following counterexpectation sentence the counterexpectation link *ko* means 'instead of'.

18a *Nombo dii do nokotulud dii iri punai ko*
where EMPH because fly EMPH that dove instead.of
STM CuLk
notimbak dii.
shoot EMPH
COUNT

How could it be because that dove flew away instead of being shot.

In the following counterexpectation sentence the counterexpectation link *ko* means 'but not'.

18b *Ogumu ma tulun ko kivaro korikot siti.*
many quite people but.not there.is arrive here
STM CuLk COUNT

There are quite a lot of people but none of them has ever arrived here.

4.11 Caution sentence

A caution sentence has a negative command and a warning.

Caution Sentence

+Negative Command	±Caut Lk	+Warning
ada 'don't + any command	*do* 'because'	Any warning clause or sentence

The following two sentences are examples of typical caution sentences.

19a *Adako mongoi silo do odorunan.*
don't.you,SG go there because rain
NeCo CaLk WCl

Don't go there, you will get rained on.

19b *Ada mongoi silo, kapatajon.*
don't go there death
NeCo WCl

Don't go there, its dangerous.

5. Parallel-structure sentences

This group of sentences involves repetition. Parallel structure sentences include paraphrase sentences, amplification sentences and comparative sentences.

5.1 Paraphrase sentence

A paraphrase sentence has a statement with a restatement of the same idea in different words. The paraphrase may be introduced by *iri* 'that' or *irino* 'that is' or may be juxtaposed to the statement.

Paraphrase Sentence

±Sent Intr	+Statement	±Para Lk	+ Paraphrase
om 'and', *nga* 'then'	Any clause or sentence	*iri* 'that', *irino/ino iri* 'that is', etc.	Any clause or sentence with the same meaning as in the statement

In the following sentence the paraphrase is introduced by *nga ino iri* 'then that is'.

20a *Nga irino dii mingkakat do mongoloou do dalam tana*
then that.is EMPH stand.up PUR call.on MK inside earth
STM

ka di komoionno dii dalam tana nga onupo gia
RSP MK meaning EMPH inside earth then whatever in.fact

dii kavagu nga ino iri tongomoinat-moinatno kama ko
EMPH also then that that evil.spirits probably or
PhLk PH

i tongorogon-rogon si lugu ka.
MK demons there log RSP

Then as for that, they stand up to call on 'the ones in the earth', they say, for the meaning of 'the ones in the earth' then, in fact, is whatever else there is, then that is probably the evil spirits or the demons in the logs, they say.

The following reason sentence contains an embedded paraphrase sentence. There is no paraphrase link between the two constituents.

20b *Sulodku poingkaa nogi ilo mundok i navaal do kinomol,*
brother.my thus also that cassava MK make MK beer
VOC STM PH_1

i navaal do tilupon, do au moo isido do korijang
MK make MK drink because not want he MK separate
PH_2

tokou, au moo isido do kivaro si pialatan tokou do
we,IN not want he MK there.is there amongst us,IN MK

koompot do ukuman mivaja do rogon.
include MK judgment with MK demon

My brother, it is thus also with cassava that is made into beer, that is made into a drink, because he does not want to separate from us; he does not want there to be anyone among us who will be included in the judgment along with the demons.

5.2 Amplification sentence

An amplification sentence is similar to a paraphrase sentence, but instead of giving the same meaning in different words, the meaning is amplified.

Amplification Sentence

+Statement	±Ampl Lk	+Amplification
Any clause or sentence	*om* 'and', *abis* 'after all'	Any clause or sentence with the same information as in the statement with further amplification

In the following narrative sequence sentence there is an embedded amplification sentence.

21a *Nga biar pun iso linsou diri nokotumpos siri, naratu siri*
but let.it.be also one seed that sow there fall there

tana di taandai, nga sinumobul isido om aandai iri
soil MK good then sprout it and good that
STM

pononobul disido, roun om guvas disido gumajo, sumambak
sprout its leaves and stalk its become.big flourish
AMP

om gosomno..do nokouva.
and until bear.fruit

Then even if there is one of those seeds that is sown there, that is dropped in the good soil, then it will sprout, and it will grow well, its leaves and stalk will become big, it will flourish until it bears fruit.

The following concessive sentence contains an embedded reason sentence. An amplification sentence is further embedded in the reason of the reason sentence.

21b *Nga insan irad dii kosusaan diolo aui rumorogo iolo*
but even.if like EMPH difficulty their not repent they

sabap au kotutun iolo di kuasa do rogon, abis au
because not recognize they MK power of demon after.all not
STM AmpLk AMP

okito diolo iri rogon pointanggu siri diolo di maso mongiup.
see they that demon wait there them MK time drink

But even if they have difficulty like that they do not repent because they do not recognize the power of the demon, after all they cannot see that demon beside them while they are drinking.

5.3 Comparative sentence

A comparative sentence has the word *mantad* 'than' which links the comparative statement and its comparison.

Comparative Sentence

±Sent Intr	+Comp State	+Comp Lk	+Comparison
om 'and' etc.	Any clause	*mantad* 'than'	Any clause that shows a comparison with the comparative statement

The following is a comparison sentence with no embedding.

22a *Om i sangau disido nga odibak mantad di sangau do*
and MK horn its link short than MK horn of
StInt CpSt CpLk COMP
karabau.
water.buffalo

And its horns are shorter than the horns of a water buffalo.

The following coordinate sentence contains an embedded comparative sentence in the second coordinate base.

22b *Sapi nopo..nga mibagal nogi do karabau do ogumu*
cow TopLk like also MK water.buffalo because many

kogunaan, om kosumbai nogi ilo sapi mantad karabau,
uses and surprise also that cow than water.buffalo
StInt CpSt CpLk COMP

do komoionku do kosumbai i vulu disido moilo
because meaning.my that surprise MK hair its can

mimban.
change

As for a cow it is also like a water buffalo because it has many uses and the cow is also more surprising than the water buffalo, because I mean by surprising that its hair can change.

5.4 Similarity sentences

Similarity sentences are those in which the second constituent indicates similarity with the preceding constituent. The second constituent is marked with a link such as *mibagal di* or *irad di* 'like'.

Similarity Sentence$_1$

+Statement	+Similarity Link	+Similarity
Any clause	*mibagal do/irad do/irad (mamarong)* '(very much) like', etc.	Any clause that shows similarity to the statement

A similarity sentence is embedded in the following coordinate sentence.

23a *Misoili dii di natad diri om mongkolobobok dii*
go.around EMPH MK yard that and make.'bokbok'.sound EMPH
STM

iri irad mamarong rumidi iri rinakan.
that like very boil that cook.vegetables
SmLk SMT

It went around the yard and made a *bokbok* sound very much like that of vegetables cooking.

In the following similarity sentence, the similarity is a negative similarity marked by *okonko* 'not' before *irad* 'like'.

23b *Iri nopo tuntu disido om ongoninipis ongopoyok topi alanggau,*
that LK leaf its and all.thin all.small but long
STM

okonko irad..do tuntu kaju do suvai do alaab.
not like leaf tree MK other LK broad
SmLk SMT

As for its leaves, they are thin and small, but long, not like the leaves of the other trees that are broad.

Similarity Sentence$_2$

+Sim Lk	+Similarity	+Statement
mibagal do/irad do 'like'	Any clause	Any clause that shows similarity to the statement

The following paraphrase sentence has an embedded similarity sentence in the paraphrase of the main sentence. There are two similarity links and two similarities in the similarity sentence. The statement of the similarity sentence contains two further embedded paraphrase sentences.

23c *Om varo kumitituran om oporlu..do poilo oku pasal*
and there.is tell.a.story and need tell I about

poinggajud do urang puti, irino do okonko mibagal
accompany MK person white that.is LK not like
SmLk$_1$

daton..do adat atau..pun okonko mibagal..di koubasan tokou,
our,IN custom or not like customary our
SMT$_1$ SmLk$_2$ SMT$_2$

do urang puti nopo..nga toodopon nga misti..do akamas,
because person white LK bed then must tidy
STM

misti..do ousai kopijo, ...
must be.in.order very

And there is something I will instruct you about, and I need to tell you about accompanying a white person; that is, it's not like our customs or what we are accustomed to, because the beds of the white people must be tidy, must be kept in good order, ...

6. Cleft sentences

There are two types of cleft sentences, evaluation cleft sentences, and explanation cleft sentences.

6.1 Evaluation cleft sentence

An evaluation cleft sentence is one which has an evaluation and a proposition. The evaluation may be linked to the proposition by *do* 'that' or may be juxtaposed.

Evaluation Cleft Sentence

+ Evaluation	± Eval Lk	+ Proposition
Any evaluation clause e.g. *aandai* 'good', *araat* 'bad', *apandai* 'clever', *au buli* 'cannot'	*do* '(link)'	Any clause or sentence

In the following sentence the proposition is juxtaposed to the evaluation.

24a *Aandai momoriara tokou bo.*
good take.care.of we,IN okay
EV PR

It would be good if we took care of one, okay?

In the following sentence the evaluation is linked to the proposition by the link *do* 'that, which'.

24b *Bang siti daton, owo, aandai dii do pabalajaron*
if here our,IN friend good EMPH that teach
EV EvLk PR

mangakut do parai.
carry MK rice

If it is at our place, friend, it would be good to teach it to carry rice.

In the following sentence the first evaluation is *ilo kasasala dilo sapi* 'the problem with a cow is' and its proposition includes the second evaluation *apandai* 'clever, it is clever' and its proposition.

24c *Nga ilo kasasala dilo sapi bang au oubasan disido apandai*
then that wrong that cow if not accustom he clever
EV_1 PR_1 EV_2

do manandang.
LK kick
EvLk PR_2

But what is wrong with a cow is that if it is not made accustomed to one it tends to kick.

In the following juxtaposed sentence there are two embedded evaluation cleft sentences in the third and fourth juxtaposed bases.

24d *Jadi korikotko silo nunu karajawon di Miss,*
so arrive.you,SG there whatever work MK Miss

ipokuri disido dika, ongoionno karajawo, au buli do
cause.to.work she you,SG go work not can LK
EV EvLk

tumangkar, au buli do sumival ....
dispute not can LK argue
PR EV EvLk PR

So when you arrive there, whatever work you are given by the Miss, whatever she makes you work at, go and do it, you cannot dispute, you cannot argue, ...

6.2 Explanation cleft sentence

Explanation cleft sentences do not have verbs of evaluation but their surface structure follows a similar pattern to other cleft sentences.

Explanation Cleft Sentence

±Sent Intr	+Explanation Cleft Formula	+Expl Lk	Explanation Cleft
jadi 'and so' etc.	Any clause or sentence with any verb or an existential	*do*	Any clause, sentence or paragraph

In the following sentence the existential *varo* 'there is' occurs in the explanation cleft formula followed by *do* 'explanation link'.

25a *Jadi varo insan tadau do minagasu i kusai.*
so there.was one day LK hunt.with.dogs MK man
StInt ExQtF ExQtLk ExQt

So there was one day that the man went hunting with his dogs.

In the following sentence an explanation cleft sentence is embedded in the reason of a reason sentence.

25b *Itino ngavi sabap..do tikid-tikid do tulun do tumanud disido*
this.is all because each MK person who follow him
ExQtF

do mongilag pasal dilo mongiup do mundok supaya..do au
that avoid about that drink MK cassava PUR not
ExLk ExQt

kalanggar om au avajaan tokou i karaaton do ginavo tokou.
break and not follow we,IN MK bad of heart our,IN

This is all because each person who follows him avoids drinking cassava beer so that we will not break (the law) and will not follow the badness of our hearts.

In the following sentence the verb *tumingkod* 'stop' occurs in the explanation cleft formula.

25c *Jadi aavi iri om baru nogi tumingkod do kumaraja om*
so finish that and new also stop LK work and
ExQtF ExLk ExQt

modopno ongosantagal, kira..do satanga jaam.
sleep awhile about half hour

So when you have finished only then stop work and sleep for a while, about half an hour.

7. Merged sentence

A merged sentence is one that has two verbs in close proximity where the first clause lacks an object, the second clause lacks a subject, or the object of the first clause is the subject of the second.

Merged Sentence

+Merged $Verb_1$	+Merged $Verb_2$
Any verb phrase with one verb	Any verb phrase with one or more verbs
Verbs may be juxtaposed or have noun phrases between the merged verbs one of which acts as the undergoer of the first verb and actor of the second verb.	

In the following merged sentence the subjects and objects of all the verbs are lacking. The subject of the first merged verb is the turtle and the subject of the following three verbs in a merged verb phrase is the crab (known from the context of the sentence).

26a *Korikot nopo ka siri puun om iliaino di sonit do*
arrive already RSP there tree and put.down MK turtle PUR

poindakod sinuu mongoi manganggip diri tontoluu diri
cause.to.go.up order go pinch.with.claws that scrotum that
MgV_1 MgV_2

kara.
monkey

When he arrived at the tree, they say, the turtle put it down and made it climb; ordering it to go to pinch the scrotum of the monkey.

A merged sentence with two merged verbs is embedded in the following conditional sentence. The first verb is marked for undergoer focus and refers to the milk which is in focus. Both verbs have an implied actor *kito* 'we(Du)'. The second verb is marked for actor focus so *kito* 'we(Du)' is in focus even though it is not overtly marked.

26b *Om ilo nopo sapi bang apandai kito i gatas disido obuli*
and that TopLk cow if clever we,DU MK milk its can

pagawon maganu, do kolomu ka sooro ilo.
squeeze get because fat RSP they that
MgV_1 MgV_2

And as for the cow, if we are clever its milk can be squeezed out because it is fat, they say.

In the following sentence the first merged verb lacks a subject and the second merged verb lacks an undergoer.

26c *Jadi miririkotno dii diri valai ka, osodupo om*
so nearly.arrive EMPH that house RSP far.yet and

pongoloouno ka iri kusai dii do monuu di savojo
call RSP that man EMPH PUR order MK spouse.his
MgV_1

monimbu.
make.rice.gruel
MgV_2

So he had nearly arrived at the house, they say, he was still far away and the man called out, they say, to order his wife to make some rice gruel.

In the following sentence there are two embedded merged sentences.

26d *Jadi itino iti dogon..do pontudukan do soirako do kavaja*
so this this my teach LK when.you LK accompany

di Miss toun do sumuvoli sabap..nga okonko maja
MK Miss year which take.place.of because not accompany

di Miss om ingat nopo do misinsanang suvaiko
MK Miss and think only that at.ease on.other.hand

nombo iri karajawon iri mangan kurio om irino
whatever that work that do work and that.is
MgV_1 MgV_2

sosoroon sumorou di karaja om i apatut di vaalon, okonko
think think MK work and LK ought LK do not

ingat di kumikuyaug nopo di kawan suvaiko kivaro
think LK play only MK friend on.other.hand there.is

masa do mongoi si kawan om mongoi kumiandam-andam,
time LK go there friend and go visit.together
MgV_1 MgV_2

kivaro masa do kumaraja.
there.is time LK work

So this is my advice for whenever you accompany the Miss next year because you don't accompany the Miss and only think about being at ease, on the other hand whatever work there is to be done, work at it and that is what is thought about, think about the work and what is proper to be done; don't think about just playing with friends, on the other hand there is a time to go to a friend's and go to visit together, and there is a time to work.

In the following alternative sentence a merged sentence is embedded in the purpose of a purpose sentence which is itself embedded in the second alternative base. Both of the merged verbs lack an overt subject.

26e *Jadi irino mosti popoiloko di Miss atau..pun isai..nopo*
so that.is must tell.you,SG MK Miss or whoever

kawannu mokigajud do mongoi monsu.
friend.your ask.to.accompany PUR go bathe
MgV_1 MgV_2

So that is why you must tell the Miss, or whoever your friend is that you ask to accompany you to go swimming.

In the following juxtaposed sentence a merged sentence is embedded in one of the juxtaposed bases. The merged verb *ongoi* 'go' is acting somewhat like an auxiliary verb when it is merged with the following verb.

26f *Jadi korikotko silo nunu karajawon di Miss,*
so arrive.you,SG there whatever work MK Miss

ipokuri disido dika, ongoionno karajawo, au buli do
cause.to.work she you,SG go work not can LK
MgV_1 MgV_2

tumangkar, au buli do sumival onu..nopo pontudukan mosti do
dispute not can LK argue whatever teach must LK

vojoon, om misti..do apandai do mogium do kawan, misti..do
follow and must clever LK look.for MK friend must

akawan kito di tongotulun suvai om baru..nogi..do au
befriend we,DU MK people other and only.then not

ojongou kito.
lonely we,DU

So when you arrive there, whatever work you are given by the Miss, whatever she makes you work at, go and do it, you cannot dispute, you cannot argue, whatever you are shown you must follow, and you must be clever at finding friends; we must make friends with other people and only then we will not be lonely.

8. Embedded sentence

Embedding on the sentence level is quite common and can be quite complicated. A few examples are given to show the multiple embedding.

In the following antithetical sentence the antithetical constituents are linked by *suvaiko* 'on the other hand'. A conditional sentence is embedded in the antithesis of the antithetical sentence and a reason sentence is embedded in the apodosis of the conditional sentence. A further conditional sentence with two protases is embedded in the reason of the reason sentence. Finally, another reason sentence is embedded in the apodosis of the second conditional sentence.

27a *Nga adako mongoi sumosoiso suvaiko*
but don't.you,SG go alone on.other.hand
StInt TH AdvLk

bang auso dika..do kawan majako di Miss
if none your,SG friend accompany.you,SG MK Miss
ATH,STM,PrMk CdPr CdAp

do mongoi monsu sabap..nga nung sosongulunko
PUR go bathe because if one.person.you,SG
RsLk R,PrMk CdPr

mongoi bang nolonodko isai dii nokoilo do
go if drown.you,SG who EMPH know because
PrMk CdPr CdAp,STM RsLk

auso nokoontong dika.
none see you,SG
R

But don't go alone, on the other hand if you have no friend accompany the Miss to go bathing because if you go alone, if you drown who would know, because no one would have seen you.

In the following coordinate sentence there are several juxtaposed sentences embedded in the first coordinate base. The first juxtaposed base has an embedded narrative sequence sentence which has an embedded paraphrase sentence within it. The second juxtaposed base has an embedded merged sentence. The third and fourth juxtaposed bases each have an evaluation cleft sentence. The second coordinate base has an embedded terminating sequence sentence and the statement of the terminating sequence sentence has an embedded paraphrase sentence.

27b *Jadi korikotko silo nunu karajawon di Miss,*
so arrive.you,SG there whatever work MK Miss
StInt CrB_1,JB_1,SqB_1 SqB_2,STM

ipokuri disido dika, ongoionno karajawo, au buli
cause.to.work she you,SG go work not can
PH JB_2,MgV_1 MgV_2 JB_3EV_1

do tumangakar, au buli do sumival onu..nopo
LK dispute not can LK argue whatever
EvLk PR JB_4EV_2 EvLk PR JB_5

pontudukan mosti do vojoon, om misti..do apandai do
teach must LK follow and must clever LK
CrLk CrB_2,STM,STM

mogium do kawan, misti..do akawan kito di tongotulun
look.for MK friend must befriend we,DU MK people
PH PH

suvai om baru..nogi..do au ojongou kito.
other and only.then not lonely we,DU
TmLk TmSq

So when you arrive there, whatever work you are given by the Miss, whatever she makes you work at, go and do it, you cannot dispute, you cannot argue; whatever you are shown you must follow, and you must be clever at finding friends, we must make friends with other people and only then we will not be lonely.

The following sentence consists of an equational sentence with a reason sentence embedded in the second half of the equation. The statement of the reason sentence is comprised of a purpose sentence which has a coordinate sentence further embedded in it.

27c *Nga komoion nopo do au koiup do mundok nga*
then meaning TopLk LK not drink MK cassava TopLk
StInt STM EqLk

irino mongilag supaya..do au kavaal do taraat,
that.is avoid so.that not do MK bad
EQ,STM,R,STM PuLk $PuCl,CrB_1$

om au kalanggar di ukum sabap..nga ilo mundok nogi
and not break MK law because that beer also
CrLk CrB_2 RsLk R

nga osiliu do iso puun atau koontodo do koimbulajan
TopLk become MK one source or cause LK produce

di taraat.
MK bad

Then as for the meaning of not drinking beer, that is avoiding it in order not to do bad things, and not to break the law; because that beer also becomes a source or cause of producing badness.

The juxtaposed sentence (see following page) has two antithetical sentences, one in each juxtaposed base. The thesis of the first antithetical sentence has an embedded reason sentence and the antithesis has an embedded coordinate sentence with three bases. The first coordinate base has an embedded juxtaposed sentence which in turn has a merged sentence embedded in the second juxtaposed base. In the antithesis of the second antithetical sentence there is an embedded juxtaposed sentence which has a further embedded coordinate sentence in the first juxtaposed base.

27d *Jadi itino iti dogon..do pontudukan do soirako do*
so this this my teach LK when.you LK
StInt JB_1,TH,STM

kavaja di Miss toun do sumuvoli sabap..nga okonko
accompany MK Miss year which take.place.of because not
RsLk R

maja di Miss om ingat nopo do misinsanang
accompany MK Miss and think only that at.ease

suvaiko nombo iri karajawon iri mangan
on.other.hand whatever that work that do
AdvLk ATH,CrB_1,JB_1 JB_2,MgV_1

kurio om irino sosoroon sumorou di karaja om i
work and that.is think think MK work and LK
MgV_2 CrLk CrB_2 CrLk CrB_3

apatut di vaalon, okonko ingat di kumikuyaug nopo di kawan
ought LK do not think LK play only MK friend
JB_2,TH

suvaiko kivaro masa do mongoi si kawan om
on.other.hand there.is time LK go there friend and
AdvLk ATH,JB_1,CrB_1 CrLk

mongoi kumiandam-andam, kivaro masa do kumaraja.
go visit.together there.is time LK work
CrB_2,MgV_1 MgV_2 JB_2

So this is my advice for whenever you accompany the Miss next year, because you don't accompany the Miss and only think about being at ease; on the other hand whatever work there is to be done, work at it and that is what is thought about, think about the work and what is proper to be done, don't think about just playing with friends, on the other hand there is a time to go to a friend's and go to visit together, and there is a time to work.

9. Inner-peripheral tagmemes

There are two inner peripheral tagmemes, the sentence topic margin which precedes the nucleus of the sentence and a tag question which occurs finally in the sentence.

Inner Peripheral Tagmemes

±Sentence Topic Margin	+Nucleus	±Tag Question
Any sentence topic forefronted before the sentence which has its referent in the nucleus	Any clause or sentence	*kon/koon/okon* 'not'

9.1 Sentence topic margins

A sentence topic is a forefronted topic which is coreferential with something in the following clause. There are two types of forefronted sentence topics.

The first type is one which contains a phrase such as *ilo nopo* 'as for that' or *irino* 'that is' plus a noun or noun phrase. The second type contains a noun phrase beginning with *bang* 'if'.

The following sentence contains the topic *ilo nopo sapi* 'as for the cow'.

28a *Om ilo nopo sapi bang apandai kito i gatas disido*
and that TopLk cow if clever we,DU MK milk its
StTMg NU

obuli pagawon maganu, do kolomu ka sooro ilo.
can squeeze get because fat RSP they that

And as for the cow if we are clever its milk can be squeezed out because it is fat they say.

In the following sentence the topic is *bang karabau gia* 'if it is a buffalo of course'.

28b *Jadi bang karabau gia oijo iri sangau disido*
so if water.buffalo in.fact the.same that horn its
StTMg NU

do alais ko okilong om aui dii monginlolobuon ilo
because straight or bent and not EMPH wallow.in.mud that

sapi.
cow

So as for the buffalo of course its horns are all the same, because they are straight or bent and that cow does not wallow in the mud.

In the following sentence the first phrase *bang irad dika do tongondu* 'if it is like you who are a woman' is a topic whereas the clause beginning with *bang aupo* is a conditional clause.

28c *Nga bang irad dika do tongondu bang aupo aavi iri*
then if like you,SG MK woman if not.yet finish that
StInt StTMg NU

karaja ada mindada do kadang-kadang do masa
work don't stop because sometimes at time

mangakan, koopod mangakan om susianno tongopinggan
eat finish eat and wash plates

do maja diolo monusi.
because accompany them wash

Then if it is like you being a woman, if the work is not yet finished, don't stop; because sometimes at the time of eating, when they are finished eating, then the plates are washed up because you accompany them to wash up.

A locative phrase can also be topicalized as in the following sentence topic *bang siti daton* 'as for here at our place'.

28d *Bang siti daton, owo, aandai dii do pabalajaron mangakut*
if here our,IN friend good EMPH LK teach carry
StTMg VOC NU

do parai.
MK rice

As for here at our place, friend, it would be good to teach it to carry rice.

The following sentence contains the sentence topic *irino do modi i Kinoroingan* 'that is perhaps that God'.

28e *... topi irino do modi i Kinoroingan do korijang iolo*
but that LK perhaps MK God LK separate they
StTMg StTLk NU
... but that was perhaps that as for God they separated from him.

disido.
him

9.2 Tag question

A tag question seems to act as an inner peripheral constituent and is expounded by *kon*, *koon*, or *okon* 'not'.

29a *O! O! aandai bala bang kivaro sii siin tokou, andai*
oh oh good after.all if there.is there money our,IN good
NU
Oh! oh! it would be good after all if we have money, it would be good to buy a cow, because look at the many reasons to get it; isn't that so!

do momoli do sapi, sabap antangai nga ogumu koonuan,
that buy MK cow because look then many get

koon!
not
TagQMk

29b *Rongoo tokouno, kon!*
listen we,IN isn't
NU TagQMk
Let's listen, won't we!

10. Outer-peripheral tagmemes

Outer-peripheral tagmemes include such things as sentence introducers, sentence modifiers, exclamation, vocative, response margins and disclaimer margins.

Outer-peripheral Tagmemes

±Excl$_1$	±Excl$_2$	±Sent Intr$_1$	±Sent Intr$_2$	±Sent Intr$_3$
ai *ii* *adii* etc.	atuuk *anoi bala* etc.	antadpo etc.	*om* *jadi* *nga* *na*	pagka *kavagui* *angai di ioku* *koiso*, etc.
±Sent Mod$_1$	±Sent Mod$_2$	±Disc Marg	±Excl	
bo *bo dii* etc.	*gia* *o* etc.	*ka* *kadi gugulu* *kad kovusung dino*, etc.	*oi* etc.	

10.1 Sentence introducers

Sentence introducers include conjunctions such as *om* 'and, then (same actor)', *om kavagui* 'and furthermore', *antadpo om* 'after that then', *nga* 'but, then (different actor)', and *jadi* 'so, and so'.

30a *Jadi ongoi silo di Kaling.*
so go there POSS Indian
StInt NU

So she went to the Indian's place.

In the following sentence, there are two sentence introducers *om* 'and' and *kavagui* 'furthermore'.

30b *Om kavagui dino mongoloouino iolo silo savat kavagu.*
and again that call they there above again
$StInt_1$ $StInt_2$ NU

And furthermore they call on those (spirits) up above again.

The following sentence contains two sentence introducers *antad poo* 'after that' and *om* 'and'.

30c *Antad poo om misoilino di natad kadiolo, kadi*
from yet and go.round.and.round MK yard RS,they RS,MK
$StInt_1$ $StInt_2$ NU

Tiadamin.
the.late.Adamin

"After that it went around and around", they said, said the late Adamin.

The following sentence has the sentence introducer *koiso* 'firstly'.

30d *Koiso: Au kopuriman tokou di tatangaron ontok..di poingavuk,*
firstly not feel we, IN MK words time drunk
StInt NU

manaku do aandai ko araat om au kopuriman tokou diri
whether LK good or bad and not feel we,IN that

taandai di avaal do koruang.
good LK do by friend

Firstly: We do not feel what we are saying when we are drunk, whether it is good or bad; and we do not feel the good that is done by a friend.

10.2 Sentence modifiers

Sentence modifiers include words or phrases that express a speaker's concern. Sentence modifiers include words such as: *bo* 'OK, I think', *bo dii* 'soon after, at once', *gia* 'really, indeed, and then', *angai di ioku* 'take a look at me', *pagka* 'because really', *o* 'you know', etc. Some of these sentence modifiers have a fixed position such as *angai di ioku* 'take a look at me' which occurs at the beginning of a sentence, or *o* 'you know' which occurs at he end of a sentence. Others are more movable such *bo* 'OK' and *gia* 'really' which can occur early in the sentence following a response margin or exclamation or can occur in the middle or at the end of the sentence.

In the following sentence the sentence modifier *bo* 'OK, I think' occurs. When this modifier occurs in the sense of seeking approval, as here, it usually falls at the end of the sentence.

31a *Ada nogi sasako si likud bo!*
don't also get.on there back okay
NU StMod

Don't climb onto it from the back end, okay!

In the following sentence the sentence modifier *pagka do* 'because really' occurs before the nucleus.

31b *Oo pagka..do auno dii nakataan iti Tinggawi.*
yes because.really not EMPH endured this Tinggawi
RpMg StMod NU

Yes, because Tinggawi really could not endure it.

The following sentence contains the sentence modifying phrase *angai di ioku* 'take a look at me' or 'take me for example'. This phrase can occur at the beginning of an independent sentence or, as here, at the beginning of an embedded sentence.

31c *Om soira..do mibagal..ko kitoruolko, inggalaanko tulu ka*
and when like sick.you,SG dizzy.you,SG head RSP

atau..pun orualan nipon atau..pun kangkagan om misti.do
or painful tooth or fever and must

popoiloko di Miss sabap..nga angai di ioku di maso kupo
tell.you,SG MK Miss because see LK I at time yet.I
StMod NU

silo Nasuli nga orualan oku nipon.
there Nasuli then painful I tooth

And when it is like you are ill, you are dizzy, they say, or have toothache or fever, then you must tell the Miss because, take me for example, at the time that I was still at Nasuli, then I had a toothache.

The following sentence contains two sentence modifiers: *bo* 'OK, I think' used more in the latter sense and *gia* 'of course'.

31d *Oo bo i Indalan bo gia, kad kovusung*
yes that's.right MK Indalan really in.fact say curse
RpMg StMod NU $StMod_1$ $StMod_2$

dino.
that

Yes, that's right, it really was Indalan, in fact, if it's not a curse to mention his name.

The following sentence has the sentence modifier *bo* 'OK, I think' in the middle of the nucleus and the final sentence modifier *o* 'you know'.

31e *Jadi koilo moi bo i majo Muyang dii*
so know probably really MK father.his Muyang EMPH
StInt NU StMod NU

o.
know.you
StMod

So probably Muyang's father really knows about it, you know.

10.3 Exclamation

An exclamation is expounded by an exclamatory particle such as: *ai* 'eh, indicates surprise at a situation, or a slip of the tongue', *oi* 'you see, exclamation of surprise', *atuuk* 'wow', *bala* 'after all', *adii* 'oh dear' and *ii* 'oh' or it may be expounded by an exclamatory phrase such as: *anoi bala* 'that's it after all' or a phrase involving a question word used as an exclamation such as: *ombo* or *ombo dii* 'how can that be (lit., where)', *nuu* or *nuu dii* 'what do you know, what else (lit., what)', etc. All of these

exclamations occur at the beginning of a clause except for *ai* which can occur anywhere and *oi* which occurs sentence final.

In the following sentence the particle which occurs is *ai* 'eh, indicates surprise at a situation'.

32a *Ai, auno mindakod di valai ka.*
eh not climb.up MK house RSP
EXCL NU

Eh, it did not climb up into the house, they say.

The following sentence contains the surprise marker *oi* which falls at the end of the sentence.

32b *Ombo diri majuno dii modop, sinono diri ka, sii natad*
where that progress EMPH sleep there that RSP there yard
NU

oi.
SURP
EXCL

How could they make any progress in sleeping, it was there they say, there in the yard.

The following sentence contains the exclamation *atuuk* 'wow' as well as two occurrences of *ai* 'eh, indicates surprise at a situation'.

32c *Jadi kapatai dii, ai atuuk di nipon montong koi do*
so die EMPH eh wow MK teeth look.at you,SG that
EXCL$_1$ EXCL$_2$ NU

ai soro lalakapan tunturu ka iti nipon.
eh it as.big.as finger RSP this tooth
EXCL

So it died, and oh, wow, it's teeth when you looked at them, eh, they were as big as a finger, they say.

The following sentence begins with the exclamation *ii* 'oh'.

32d *Ii ouruvanno ka sooro iolo dino mingoduvo.*
Oh please RSP they they those pair
EXCL NU

Oh, they were pleased, both of them, they say.

In the following sentence the exclamatory phrase *anoi bala* 'that's it after all' occurs.

32e *Anoi bala i Kilian, i kusai i Kilian.*
that after.all MK Kilian MK male MK Kilian
EXCL NU

That's it after all, it was Kilian; the boy was Kilian.

The following sentence begins with the exclamatory phrase *nuu dii* 'what else (lit., what)'.

32f *Nuu dii do turu tadau mingguli, dii diolo*
what EMPH because seven days return EMPH they
EXCL NU

bubuai dii ka.
headless.monster EMPH RSP

What else but it kept returning for seven days, they took a look at it and it was a headless monster, they say.

In the following sentence the word *ombo* 'where' occurs as an exclamation.

32g *Ombo gia sinapang doori do auso.*
where in.fact gun old.days because none
EXCL StMod NU

Where were there any guns in the old days, because there were none.

The following sentence contains the exclamation *adii* 'oh my' as well as two occurrences of the sentence modifier *gia* 'indeed, really'.

32h *Soira..do okito di rogon iri tulun do mamatai ko moguod*
when see the demon that person who fight or destroy

ko manawar, adiii, koirak kopijo gia isido
or speak.incantations oh.my laugh very indeed he
EXCL NU StMod NU(cont)

do aandaian marong isido irad dii do koontong om
because like very he like EMPH because see and

ourumat gia isido.
honor really he
StMod NU(cont)

When the demon sees that person fight or be destructive or speak incantations, oh my, he really laughs, because he really likes very much to see that and he is being honored.

10.4 Vocative

A vocative tagmeme is expounded by a kinship term such as *sulod* 'relative' or an honorific such as *tuan* 'sir, lord'. Normally a vocative occurs first in a sentence, except for *owo* 'friend' which seems to be freely moveable.

33 *Sulodku poingkaa nogi ilo mundok i navaal do*
relative.my thus also that cassava LK make MK
VOC NU

kinomol, i navaal do tiiupon, do au moo isido do
cassava.beer LK make MK drink because not want he that

korijang tokou, au moo isido do kivaro si pialatan tokou
separate we,IN not want he LK there.is there amongst us,IN

do koompot do ukuman mivaja di rogon.
LK include MK judgment with MK demon

My brothers, it is thus also with cassava that is made into beer, that is made into a drink, because he does not want us to separate (from him), he does not want anyone amongst us to be included in the judgment with the demons.

10.5 Response margin

A response margin is expounded by *oo* 'yes' or *au* or *aui* 'no'.

34a *Oo pagka..do auno dii nakataan iti Tinggawi.*
yes because.really not EMPH endured this Tinggawi
RpMg StMod NU

Yes, because Tinggawi really could not endure it.

In the following sentence the response margin *au* 'no' occurs.

34b *Om, "Ai, auno bo," ka.*
and eh no really RS
StInt EXCL RpMg StMod CQtF

And then, "Eh, no thanks," he said.

10.6 Disclaimer margin

A disclaimer margin is expounded by the particle *ka* 'say, they say' or a phrase such as *kadi gugulu* 'said the ancestors', *kad kovusung dino* 'if it is not a curse (to mention his name)', etc.

35a *Nga bang kosuati bo di toruol, "Kivaroi dii do*
then if suffer in.fact MK sick there.is EMPH MK
StInt NU

kalalasu," kadi gugulu, tatapi auso nogi dii arapan kavagu
heat say ancestors but none also EMPH hope again
DMg

do loovon diolo dii.
LK call.on they EMPH

Then if there were in fact some who got sick, "There is heat," said the ancestors, but there is nothing else that they could trust in that they called on.

The following sentence contains the disclaimer phrase *kad kovusung dino* 'if it's not a curse (to mention his name)'.

35b *Oo bo i Indalan bo gia kad kovusung*
Yes that's.right MK Indalan really in.fact RS curse
RpMg StMod NU $StMod_1$ $StMod_2$ DMg

dino.
that

Yes that's right, it really was Indalan in fact, if it's not a curse to mention his name.

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(b) Human Relations Area Files, Box 2054 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520.

(c) Philippine Subscription Service (PSSC) (Central Subscription Service), Commonwealth Ave., U.P. Diliman, Q.C.

(d) Summer Institute of Linguistics, Publications Department, Box 2270 CPO, 1099 Manila, Philippines.

(e) University of Hawaii Press, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, HI 96822.

The above entities are referred to in the following list of publications by (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) respectively. Further abbreviations are: mf microfiche, OP out of print. All items listed are paperback.

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